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# MID-AMERICA

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## Rogel, Padre of the Ports

### Preparing the Way

Pamplona is a little Spanish town in the Pyrennes of Navarre, about thirty miles from the French border. It was once a bulwark against the Moslem advance in the early years of the Eighth Century. A rallying point for the Christian reconquest of Spain it nurtured a freedom-loving people who from the eighth century maintained all the ruggedness of their mountain forebears in the various wars and incursions of the long centuries. In 1521 Pamplona was the scene of a battle between French and Spanish troops wherein Ignatius Loyola fell wounded and thereafter decided to forsake the world and establish his Company of Jesus.

Midway between the battle and the foundation of the Jesuits in 1540, a baby boy was born in 1529 into the Rogel family of Pamplona.<sup>1</sup> He was named Juan, heir to no titles but to the Navarrese traditions of valor, labor, cheerfulness, and Christian spirit. This boy was destined to take a small place in the history of North America for his work among the Florida Indians, but his fame for generations rested more properly upon the love of his fellow-man for which he was known during many years of his parochial labors in Spain, in Havana, and in Vera Cruz.

No biographer tells us of Juan's early years and schooling or about his weight, height and features. He was prepared, however, in the schools of his home town for university training by the time he was in his eighteenth year. Then, in 1547, he enrolled himself

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<sup>1</sup> The Mexican Province Catalogues from 1576 indicate 1529 as the year of his birth. In 1576 his age is given as 47. Félix Zubillaga, S.J., *La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española*, Rome, 1941?, 231, deduces the same from a questionnaire response of Rogel's.

at the University of Alcalá.<sup>2</sup> Presumably, there was no fanfare inasmuch as there were 1,938 other students doing likewise that year.<sup>3</sup> Alcalá, with professorial chairs numbering forty-two, was the leading university of Spain in scientific studies as well as in humanities. Rogel became part of the Spanish intellectual life in the golden age of its literature and arts.

After four years studies in the classics and philosophy had gained for him his licentiate, Juan Rogel turned his attention to the field of medicine. He began his studies at Alcalá, but transferred to Valencia where he could obtain special training in anatomy. Within this old walled city of the Romans on the eastern coast of Spain his dream of becoming a physician merged into one that became increasingly more engrossing. He felt himself called to be a physician of souls. He became friendly with one Father Lucio Crucio, a Jesuit stationed in Valencia, whose way of life appealed strongly to him.<sup>4</sup> Rogel, the medic, toward the end of his six years of higher studies resolved to enter religion. Having been accepted as a candidate of the Company of Jesus he appeared at the door of the Jesuit College of Valencia and was received on April 16, 1554, by the rector, Father Bautista Parma. Juan Rogel, novice, was then twenty-five.<sup>5</sup> When he crossed this threshold, he was at the beginning of sixty-five years of difficult work as a religious.

A novitiate for the training of young Jesuits had been established at Valencia for the Jesuit Province of Andalucía. Late in 1554 Ignatius Loyola, General of the Jesuits, had divided Spain for administrative reasons into three provinces, Castile, Aragon, and Andalucía, and over them and the Province of Portugal, he had placed as commissioner Father Francis Borgia, former Duke of Gandía. Rogel spent only four months as a novice before pronouncing his first vows of religion,<sup>6</sup> very probably on August 15. Since this was an unusually short period, we may assume that his superiors considered him quite mature and of a singularly strong re-

<sup>2</sup> The Mexican Province Catalogues state that Rogel had four years of philosophy and four of medicine before his entrance into the Company; but the catalogue for 1576 gives his entrance date as 1564 instead of 1554, and that of 1580 gives it as 1556; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 232, settles the date of his entrance as 1554, and says Rogel had spent six and a half years in philosophy and medicine.

<sup>3</sup> Charles E. Chapman, *A History of Spain*, New York, 1930, 340, 230.

<sup>4</sup> See his letter given below.

<sup>5</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 232. The Mexican Province Catalogue for 1850 says that he entered the Company at Alcalá in 1556 and took his first vows in 1558.

<sup>6</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 232.

ligious character. During this time he became attracted to the foreign missions and told Francis Borgia of his desire to go to India.

Having pledged himself by his vows as a member of the Company of Jesus, Rogel was sent to the house of studies at Gandía to prepare himself for the priesthood. Again his time for the study of philosophy and theology was cut to a minimum. Instead of five or more years in the lecture halls he spent but a year and a half, and this time chiefly learning theology.<sup>7</sup> This abbreviated curriculum may have been arranged because he had already obtained his degree in the classics and philosophy, and because, probably, there was then a possibility of his going to the missions where an elaborate educational preparation was not so necessary. At the end of his courses, probably in January, 1556, he was ordained to the priesthood, a great event in the life of one with so spiritual an outlook as Rogel seems to have had. On July 31 of that year Ignatius Loyola died in Rome, leaving the administration of the Order, then numbering 1,000, to Diego Laínez who was Vicar-General for the next two years.

With Rogel during these two years was Pedro Martínez, his companion on the journey to the New World ten years later. Martínez had entered the Company a year before Rogel, but was not ordained until April 19, 1558. Fellow workers for the first time, the two were sent in the early part of 1556 to conduct various Lenten services in Denia, a thriving seaport town of eastern Spain on the Mediterranean sixty miles down the coast from Valencia. Here Martínez carried the main burden of preaching while Rogel spent hours in the confessional. Between them they induced many to frequent the sacraments and brought about a general spiritual revival. Many enemies were reconciled, small and teen age children were instructed, adults were given advice in consultations, and so loudly did the pair inveigh against swearing, cheating, blasphemy, bad books and indecent dances, that the governor of Denia issued edicts for a reform starting with the public burning of bad books in the plaza.<sup>8</sup>

After these efforts Rogel and Martínez returned to Gandía. Then they were separated when Rogel was sent back to act as a parish priest in Denia. At this port he undoubtedly came into contact with many sailors, thus getting a sympathetic understanding of

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, for this and the following.

<sup>8</sup> *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI), Lit. Quadrimestres*, IV., 178.

their life. The experience served him well later in Vera Cruz, New Spain. How long, precisely, Father Rogel remained in Denia cannot be stated, but at the beginning of 1559 we find him one of three Jesuits caring for a church in Cuenca.<sup>9</sup> His duties, besides those of assisting the pastor, were those of a superintendent and procurator. He held this post for a year before being transferred to Toledo for similar work. Here his desire to serve in the foreign missions grew more and more intense. He pestered his superiors in Spain, the provincial of Portugal, Francis Borgia, and finally the new general, Laínez, for permission to be off somewhere in the Spanish or Portuguese colonies, in many of which, excepting North America, his brothers were evangelizing the natives.

In a letter to Laínez, Father Rogel reveals all his longing to go to India and presents a remarkably frank estimate of his own ability. To the General of the Jesuits, Father James Laínez, he wrote:

Our very Reverend Father In Christ: Pax Christi.

Because I have understood that Your Paternity is happy to know when the Lord communicates any desire for the Indies to some particular subject, I have set myself to write this in order to tell Your Paternity that from the very moment I entered the Company the Lord has given me such desires, and I have written about them to Father Francisco [Borgia], and they tell me that already His Reverence has me in mind for the Indies of Spain. And now I turn to write to Your Paternity so as to express on my part that which is in me and satisfy myself in the matter.

What urges me to this desire seems to me to be a wish to suffer what God wills, unless I am deceived or am bringing myself to do my own will. Such talent as I have is certainly not sufficient for such an enterprise, since it is very little; but it consoles me much to know that God "selects the weak and contemptible of this world to confound the mighty."

My service until now in the Company has consisted of hearing confessions and teaching the Christian doctrine. I have no talent for preaching, for I stutter and have very little learning for it, since before I entered the Company I studied medicine, and after my entrance I have studied very little theology.

I give this account to Your Paternity [to indicate] that if perchance I am destined for it [India] and if Your Paternity decides in the Lord that I go, "Behold, I am ready!" It is well that Your Paternity should know another particular also, namely, that I am in good bodily health, glory to God, and I have borne well until now the labor of being in the confessional, even all day long and many days one after another. And if Your Paternity should wish to inquire more in particular about me, Father Lucio Crucio knows me from Gandía and Valencia, from before I entered the Company and after.

Another kindness and privilege I want to ask of Your Paternity for

<sup>9</sup> Zubillaga, 233.



myself and for another Father, also a medic, who lives in this house and who is named Juan Segura, and it is the privilege that Your Paternity grants to some fathers of the Company to save from Purgatory one soul with each Mass they say, even though they do not apply the Mass to that soul. I well know that I deserve no such kindness, but confidence in the charity and benignity of Your Paternity has led me to ask it. And because I have nothing else to write, I stop. May our Lord grant Your Paternity His divine love and grace to know and comply with His divine will in all things and in increasing in Your Paternity His divine gifts, as all your sons and I, the least of all, desire. From Toledo, August 20, 1560.

From Your Paternity's most unworthy son and servant in the Lord.

JUAN ROGEL<sup>10</sup>

By a strange coincidence the two pioneer Jesuit missionaries to South and to North America had speech defects. Manuel Nóbrega, who led the Portuguese Jesuits to Brazil in 1549, stuttered. So too did Rogel. Each had abundant health, each had flaming zeal to convert the people of India. Both ended their lives in America. Both were apparently diffident about their respective mental qualifications to teach in college or preach in Europe. In April of 1561, Laínez through his secretary answered Rogel's appeal, commending his spirit, but indicating there was a difficulty of state about sending Spanish Jesuits to Portuguese colonies.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, when Laínez received requests for men to go to India and Ethiopia he referred these to the Portuguese Provincial. In one letter of the kind, written at the end of 1560, he mentions that Portugal should take care of India and Ethiopia, but added:

However, there are three good men in Castile who have requested to be sent to India. I think your reverence [Father Jerome Nadal] spoke of one who is in Toledo, Fr. Juan Rogel; the other was sent from Toledo to Cuenca, who is Fr. Martínez and who preaches there; the other is Fr. León . . .<sup>12</sup>

Clearly, Rogel had made his desire known in Portugal. He might even have been sent to India if Nadal had been able to make the preparations for the trip before the Portuguese fleet sailed.

Much disappointed, Rogel kept asking to be sent to India with such persistence that the new provincial of Portugal, Pedro Parra, after meeting Rogel in Toledo, wrote from Lisbon to the General, saying that he had few men to send to the missions and that the Spanish fathers were volunteering but could not be sent because they did not know the language, and specifically:

<sup>10</sup> *MHSI, Epistolae Lainii*, V, 192-194.

<sup>11</sup> Zubillaga, 233.

<sup>12</sup> *MHSI, Epistolae Nadal*, I, 367.

This Father Licentiate Juan Rogel of our Company, who has been in it eight or nine years, is a Navarrese, is full of love for India, and is without doubt most suitable for it. This padre entered the Company in the College of Valencia and is in Toledo now with these insatiable desires to go to the Indies. For the love of our Lord, Your Paternity, satisfy him if it is possible, since without a doubt I have never in my life witnessed such a longing for India.<sup>13</sup>

### Destiny. Florida

Despite all pleas the years passed while Rogel continued his parish work and awaited his call. Not until 1565 was his desire to aid in the salvation of heathen mankind gratified. Then on May 12 his appointment was made, not to India but to Florida in North America.<sup>14</sup> He was to go with two other Jesuits. Father Jerónimo Ruíz del Portillo, or Father Segura, or Father Martínez, was to be superior, whichever could be released. The other was to be a lay brother. Florida was probably very far from the thoughts of Rogel, but events of state and diplomacy had brought it very much to the fore.

The land known as Florida was the southeastern portion of North America whose interior boundaries were unexplored and unmarked.<sup>15</sup> The land and its natives resisted every intrusion from the time Juan Ponce de León first sighted it in the Pascal season of 1513 near the St. John's River. The natives repelled his overtures. Seven years later in his attempt to subdue the Indians of the "island" his expedition ended in his own fatal wounding and subsequent death. Others tried for thirty years to explore the mysterious north from the Antilles — Pineda, Gordillo, Quexos, Gómez, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Panfilo de Narváez, and Herando de Soto. Men went seeking cities, pygmies, giants, fountains of gold, waterways to the Orient, slaves, kangaroo men, and anything their minds or the primitive minds of the Indians could think up. The Dominican Fathers arrived in 1549 seeking souls, unarmed save for the cross. Their leader, Fray Luis Cancer, and two of his fellow workers were slain.

It was time to despair of Florida for ten whole years. Still the

<sup>13</sup> Parra to Laínez, Nov. 12, 1563, *MHSI, Epistolae Lainii*, VIII, 487.

<sup>14</sup> *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, III, 798; Zubillaga, 183.

<sup>15</sup> The story of the Spanish and French in Florida has been told in many texts and the bibliography is long; Cf. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States*, New York, I, 1905; H. E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, New Haven, 1921, Chapters I and V and Bibliographical Note; many monographs on particular expeditions have appeared in recent years. For a recent survey of the international scene see Zubillaga, Chapters VII and VIII.



forbidding land refused to be abandoned. Fleet after fleet of treasure laden ships sailed around it through the Bahama Channel on their way back to Spain. Pirates could waylay these from lairs along the Florida coast. Not only this but Calvinists might get footholds for colonies in these left-over places of Spain's widening empire, or the English might find a strait through North America to India. Moreover, ships needed a haven along that coast in the event of storms, which had already taken a great toll in lives and commerce. Hence, another expedition under Tristán de Luna y Arellano sailed to colonize western Florida, only to meet with failure in the resentful place and to return broken to Española in the middle of 1561. Philip II, having been refused the hand of Elizabeth of England, now married the Princess Elizabeth of France, which event lessened his fears about a French intrusion into his American estate. Yet, within a year, in 1562, after the Luna-Villafañe expedition had left Florida to its beastly self, Jean Ribaut and his Huguenot colony were settled. They also failed at Port Royal, South Carolina. This invasion of his Florida premises brought back old worries to Philip II. The second Huguenot group under Laudonnière landed and built Fort Caroline on the St. John's River in 1564. Such activity, following the disastrous year 1563 when hundreds of Spanish and Portuguese ships were attacked by pirates, stirred Spain to immediate action.

To rid Florida of the French peril and to establish a strong base the King chose Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, a wealthy Asturian nobleman, and an admiral renowned as a hunter of pirates.<sup>16</sup> Menéndez, from the captures of pirates and from various commercial expeditions, had amassed a large fortune. From August, 1563, he had been in jail for twenty months because of violations of the rules of the House of Trade. He was released in February, 1565, and given an elaborate contract to conquer, settle, exploit, civilize, and explore Florida even to Newfoundland, to be its governor, and to trade, provided he financed the expedition to the extent of his own fortune of \$1,800,000 and a loan from the king.<sup>17</sup> Casting about for

<sup>16</sup> For Menéndez de Avilés's character see Lowry, Ch. VII; the late Michael Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, Milwaukee, 1934, Chapters VII and VIII, makes a hero of Menéndez; Zubillaga, Ch. IX, and *passim*, likewise offers too high praise.

<sup>17</sup> Bolton, 141; clearly from the descriptions of Menéndez's orders, charter, and privileges, the expedition was primarily concerned with ousting the French and establishing Florida on a business basis; and it seems that the Jesuits were to go primarily as chaplains to the troops, sailors, and settlers, rather than as missionaries to the heathens.

the necessary number of clergymen and missionaries he thought of the Jesuits and asked that the king order four to go with his expedition.

To this time Philip II would not allow Jesuits to go to his colonies, but now on March 20, 1565, urged by Menéndez he granted the petition that had been repeated many times in previous years.<sup>18</sup> Some members of the Council of the Indies opposed for reasons of their own, still the king ruled against them.<sup>19</sup> Menéndez with the royal *cedula* in his hand appeared before the Provincial of Toledo, González, asking for an allotment of men. González and other fathers were keen for Florida, after listening to the *Adelantado's* account of the wonderful possibilities there for spiritual work. Still they could do nothing about it without the permission of their General. At the time this office was vacant, since Father Laínez had died in January, 1565, and the congregation of fathers had not as yet met to elect his successor. But, Menéndez was told, he might write to Francis Borgia, the vicar-general.

At the end of March Menéndez had his written request on its way to Rome. In this letter he describes Florida as he hoped it would be rather than as it actually was. It was, he explained, bordering on New Spain and on its north and west it was near Tartary, China, and Molucca! He thought that there must be an arm of the sea separating Florida from Tartary and China, since the Florida natives came from there. The latter were groping in the dark for the light of Faith.<sup>20</sup> Whether this wealth of misinformation was given deliberately to entice the Jesuits or whether Spain's outstanding admiral was so grossly ignorant of geography is not precisely clear. On May 12, 1565, Borgia wrote three letters,<sup>21</sup> one to Menéndez promising him not the six but three Jesuits, one to González naming those to go or their alternates, and one to those who were chosen to go advising them of the importance of the step. As we have seen Rogel was one of the appointees.

It required some time in Spain to make the selection from the

<sup>18</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 182.

<sup>19</sup> Alegre, I, 5.

<sup>20</sup> *MHSI*, Vol. 69, *Monumenta Antiquae Florida*, (1566-1672) edidit Felix Zubillaga, S.J., Rome, 1946, Document 1, pages 1-3. Father Zubillaga in this volume, the third of the *Monumenta Missionum*, has brought together all of the available letters regarding the Jesuits in Florida during the years indicated. In each case he indicates previous publication of the document and authors who have utilized it or its contents; his introduction and footnotes are in Latin. Hereafter this will be cited as *MAF*.

<sup>21</sup> *MAF*, Documents 3, 4, 5.

alternates. Meanwhile, Menéndez was gathering his expeditionaries. In June he had a fleet of ten ships to transport a thousand men, chiefly soldiers and officials, and one hundred "useless people," namely, married men, women, and children. Four diocesan priests were to sail as chaplains.<sup>22</sup> Clearly, the expedition was to be a military one. Before the three Jesuits could get ready the *Adelantado* sailed out of Cádiz on June 29. Driven back by the weather his fleet finally left on July 28.

Rogel and his unchosen companions thus missed several outstanding events in the history of our southeast. Menéndez, reaching Florida August 28, 1565, scattered Ribaut's fleet, captured Fort Caroline, laid the foundations of San Agustín on September 6, and perpetrated the massacre of the "luteranos" that has so often been described.<sup>23</sup> News of his deeds reaching Europe in October rocked the French and Spanish courts, as France charged Menéndez with murder and Philip II defended him. To Menéndez these operations were just preliminaries to his general plan. For months he was intensely occupied between Florida and Havana, directing expeditions and settlements and writing to Spain for more settlers, soldiers, and the Jesuit missionaries.

While all this was taking place Father Rogel continued hopefully with his parish work at Toledo. Menéndez had appointed Pedro del Castillo his superintendent in Spain to gather an auxiliary fleet. This was to sail in April, 1566, with provisions for the starving colony and with military aid, because it was almost certain that the French would seek revenge in Florida. In one letter, dated January 30, 1566, to Castillo, the *Adelantado* appended a note to the Jesuit provincial of Andalucia, to the effect that the whole salvation of the Florida colony depended upon the Jesuits.<sup>24</sup> He flattered them by saying that he would hold them in high esteem as *señores*, not just as ordinary companions, that is, chaplains.

Philip II now complicated matters for Rogel and his companions by asking on March 3, 1566, for *twenty-four* missionaries, six of whom were to go to Florida,<sup>25</sup> and assuming, as Philip might, that his mere nod would be obeyed, he shortly afterward issued a series of communications to the House of Trade and customs officials of

<sup>22</sup> Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 153.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 158.

<sup>24</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 213.

<sup>25</sup> *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 226-227; *MAF*, Documents 18, 19.

Seville. He considered the matter so important that he sent four *cédulas* on March 24 and another on April 9.<sup>26</sup>

From these we get an insight into the provisions made for the missionaries. The officials were to provide for six Jesuits who were to go with the fleet of Sancho de Arciniega. Their transportation to the port with their effects was to be paid for by the *Casa* treasurer. So too were their expenses during their stay in Seville and Sanlúcar, the port of embarkation, to be met by the payment of one real and a half, about sixteen cents, a day for each man. Each was to be supplied with a cloak, a cassock, a biretta, a mattress, a blanket, and a pillow for shipboard. The king or his secretary Erasso, named four of the six who, he thought, were going: Fathers Gerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, Bautista de Segura, Martínez, and Rogel.

The Spanish provincials to whom Borgia had turned over the nominations now thought that they did not have the authority by the constitution to send men overseas, meaning on military expeditions. Thus a new delay occurred in appointing missionaries while letters were being exchanged between them and the Roman headquarters.<sup>27</sup> Rogel, meanwhile, sure of his appointment, became a professed father of three vows on April 28 and set out for Seville to join brother Villarreal and to await Martínez. Arriving there on May 5, 1566, he found that the fleet of Arciniega was lying at anchor at Sanlúcar de Barremeda awaiting a favorable wind.<sup>28</sup> For five days Rogel waited the coming of three other Jesuits, but on May 10, Arciniega hoisted sail and was away to Florida without the padres. For their transportation, however, he left one ship which could depart with them later in the fleet going to New Spain.

During these days Rogel was having a scruple removed. His worry was about giving absolution to *conquistadores* who might come to him to confess in the New World.<sup>29</sup> Moral theologians were dis-

<sup>26</sup> Ruben Vargas Ugarte, "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida," translated by A. J. Owen, in *Historical Records and Studies*, The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1935, 68-71. Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 171, states that Menéndez had made himself personally responsible for all the expenses of the priests, but it is clear from these *cédulas* that the king ordered the Casa de Contratación to supply the expenses of food, clothing, and transportation. Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, El Paso, Texas, 1928, Vol. II, 328, regards the supplies as niggardly.

<sup>27</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 215, considers Father Antonio de Araoz, the Comisario general of the Spanish provinces, as the chief obstructionist; he and the provincials found it difficult to spare their men without doing damage to the Jesuit projects in Spain.

<sup>28</sup> Lowery, I, 255 and n. 1; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 216-217.

<sup>29</sup> On this touchy point see *MAF*, Doc. 20, p. 46, and Doc. 40, especially note 100, p. 126, and Doc. 50, p. 169.

puting the point, and apparently Rogel asked his provincial for a specific mode of procedure. The provincial, González, wrote to Borgia. Borgia replied that he did not think conquerors, that is those who killed or abused the natives or who had illgotten gains in violation of several commandments, would be his lot in Florida, and if they should be he would have no doubt regarding what to do about refusing absolution or giving it. Borgia seemed to think that Rogel would know when an aggressor was truly repentent and willing to make all restitution in justice and when the conqueror could not receive the sacrament of penance. Little did Juan Rogel know that he had touched upon a point of justice involving the defense of the rights of the Indians, which would bring the succeeding generations of Jesuits into conflict with both Spanish authorities and colonial estate holders.

The rest of May and most of June was spent in making preparations for the journey. Father Martínez was made superior of the mission band when it was clear that Father del Portillo could not leave. Although Menéndez had made himself responsible for all expenses of the Jesuits, it is clear that his agent provided nothing, for by the orders of the king the House of Trade had paid for their clothing and transportation, and Don Pedro del Castillo, regidor of Cádiz, had supplied them with books, vestments, chalices and all that was necessary for the celebration of Mass.<sup>30</sup> While waiting the sailing hour Martínez, Rogel, and Villarreal circulated among the westward passengers and crews of the fleet exhorting all to a better life and preparedness for death, in case of shipwreck or pirate attacks. Finally, on June 28, the admiral gave the glad word to hoist anchors and the fleet sailed down the Guadalquivir River from Sanlúcar.<sup>31</sup> It was *adios* forever to their homeland for the three Jesuits.

### A Hundred Days at Sea

A sea voyage in the sixteenth century was a trial of endurance.<sup>32</sup> Rogel and his companions found it very much so in the large Flemish storeship manned not by Spaniards but by Flemings. The *urca*

<sup>30</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 171; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 204.

<sup>31</sup> For the account of the journey all of the writers on the Jesuit missions in Florida have utilized Rogel's long letter, now published: *MAF*, Doc. 41, pp. 101-140, Father Juan Rogel to Father Didacus Avellaneda, Provincial, from Monte Christi and Havana, November 1566-January 30, 1567. The title, introduction and notes by Fr. Zubillaga are in Latin.

<sup>32</sup> For the following description of travel see W. E. Woodward, *A New American History*, New York, 1936, 28; for some improvement in traveler comfort see, Theodore E. Treutlein, "Jesuit Travel to New Spain, 1678-1756," *MID-AMERICA*, XIX, 104-123.



consisted of a large hold covered by a deck. Sand and provisions made the ballast. The sand was a floor on which a fireplace was arranged with a chimney running up through the deck. Cooking utensils were cluttered around the fireplace, and food scraps and garbage were either buried in the sand or tossed into buckets to be hauled aloft later. The hold and sleeping quarters were dreary, below the water level, smelly and full of smoke. Passengers were confined to this dark cavern in rough weather. High seas sometimes washed the deck necessitating a battening down of the hatches and a closing of the only openings to air and sky. The food and water grew progressively worse with time; fruit and vegetables rotted; bread grew moldy and alive with weevils; even salt meat became maggoty. Water had always to be conserved and was regularly rationed.

Even before their departure Martínez and Rogel had been acting as chaplains to the crew of their ship and now that they were at sea their spiritual work was intensified. To do so they had to become acquainted with the Netherlandish language spoken by the Flemings. The presence of the padres undoubtedly had a dampening effect upon the card games, the brawls, the talk and the oaths common among sailors.<sup>33</sup> Oaths were the great sin, according to Rogel, and to stop them they brought the blasphemers around to paying a small fine or giving up either a portion of their food or drink at meals. The idea seems to have spread to the other ships of the large fleet, so that by the time the Canaries were reached on July 7, a notable improvement had been made. In place of the idle amusements the zealous fathers organized a daily routine of regular periods of prayer, catechetical instruction, sermons, conferences, Sunday Mass, and confessions. Fear of attacks by Turks or pirates, fear of storm and shipwreck, and danger of death aided in the conversions.

Arriving at the port of Las Palmas the fleet and the fathers received a warm welcome. The Canary Islanders kept Rogel and Martínez occupied in their various ministerial tasks. One morning they found to their surprise that the Viceroy Gastón de Peralta and the Admiral Juan de Velasco and many notables sailing in the fleet for New Spain had come to the chapel for Mass and the sermon.<sup>34</sup> On Saturday, July 13, at noon the fleet left Las Palmas amid the farewells of civil and religious officials and a grateful crowd of people on the wharf.

<sup>33</sup> *MAF*, 103-107.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 111-112.

The fleet made a swift and safe journey to the West Indies, arriving in sight of the most easterly of the Islands, Montserrat, on August 9. For two days longer the Flemish vessel remained with the fleet, then it swung toward the northwest while the flotilla continued on to Vera Cruz. The lone *urca* carrying the missionaries made its way between Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands without encountering "any great tempests, but some calms," past the Bahamas and to the coast of Florida.<sup>35</sup> On the feast day of San Agustín, August 28, they were along the shores of the southeast coast, off South Carolina, looking anxiously for Santa Elena, a port whose location had been vaguely described to them as somewhere between thirty-one and thirty-two and a half degrees of north latitude.<sup>36</sup>

On the following day the pilot took their bearings and found that they were just above thirty-two and a half degrees north latitude, very probably in what is now St. Helena Sound. Since no one knew anything about the coast a small boat manned by some Flemings and a Spaniard was sent ashore to inquire about the port of Santa Elena, but no human being could be found. Rogel thought from the look of the land that it corresponded to what was Cape S. Román, or present Cape Romain. Utterly lost, the pilot decided to round a cape, very probably the southern tip of Edisto Island, and then, as

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>36</sup> There has been some dispute between different historians regarding the exact route taken by the ship after breaking away from the Spanish fleet. Alegre, I, 5, states that the ship made its way first to Havana, waited there for a pilot, and finally set out for Florida. "They drifted about for a month until September 24, when, ten leagues from the coast, they sighted land between 25° and 26° *al West de la Florida*." How the *West* got into print is not known, but the general statement is correct; what his authority is for the trip to Havana is not given. Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902-1925, II, 287, follows Alegre, but Kenny, 171, and Zubillaga follow the account of Rogel, who does not mention a stop at Havana. In 1927 Father F. Ayuso, edited for publication, the manuscript "Fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España, por El P. Juan Sánchez Baquero, S.J., 1571-1580." Juan Sánchez who was in the first group of Jesuits to come to Mexico City in 1572, lived in the same house with Juan Rogel, and when it came to the composition of his chapter on the Jesuits in Florida, he let the latter tell the story, and even after the lapse of many years Rogel told substantially the same story as he did in his letter written a few months after the trip. In this there is no mention of the stop at Havana, but it is clear that Alegre used this account of Rogel's and very likely made the mistake of putting in the stop at Havana *before* the ship went to Florida rather than afterward. A photostat of the typed edition of Juan Sánchez's "Fundación," is in the possession of Dr. Philip Powell of Northwestern University, who has generously loaned it. The part of this pertaining to Florida has now been published in *MAF*, Doc. 139, 606-617, under the heading "Relatio de Missione Floridae a Patre Ioanne Rogel inter Annos 1607-1611 Scripta."

Rogel remarks, "the Lord here began to visit us with gifts and samples, giving us some little part of His cross."<sup>37</sup>

The point which they were trying to pass was no more than a few leagues away, but they could not double it for three or four days because of the contrary wind. No sooner did they reach the sea on September 3, than a dreaded hurricane struck. For twelve hours it battered the ship, cracking a mast and sweeping away a lifeboat. With the ship's hold full of water they were just preparing to "render their account," when the storm ended at noon of September 4. They spent the rest of this day and the following looking for some sign indicating the port of Santa Elena, using a description of the shore that they had. When they thought that they were about eight leagues from the port, a new storm blew from the north, and it was the fourth day before they again caught sight of land. To their chagrin they discovered it was exactly the place where they had first taken their bearings. Now they had no meat and the food and water were low. Even so, they decided to put out to sea and coast southward toward their haven.

When they reached what they estimated to be thirty degrees, thirty minutes north latitude, present Amelia Island, Florida, they were suffering from thirst. The sea was calm, so they decided to send the remaining launch ashore to find water and to inquire about the location of the port. Two Spaniards, six Flemings, and Father Martínez were the landing party. Rogel stated years afterwards that the idea of landing was Martínez's. The day was September 14, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.<sup>38</sup> Rogel did not realize as

<sup>37</sup> *MAF*, 113-114, for this and the following paragraph.

<sup>38</sup> *MAF*, 115. Rogel states that the day was the 14th after midday; but Menéndez writing to Father Didacus Avellaneda, from San Agustín, October 15, 1566, *MAF*, 95, says: "On September 14, with a side wind, there arrived near this port of San Agustín, some two leagues away, a ship, and as it seemed to me that it could not recognize the port I sent out a *batel* manned by many oars to lead it in, but the sea was rough and the tide against it and it could not navigate. And within two days a tempest began..." It seems very strange that Menéndez did not signal by gun or smoke from the shore; secondly, the tempest began around midnight of September 14, according to Rogel, not within two days. A shrewd guess would be that Menéndez, if he saw the strange ship, thought it might be a pirate, hence did not want to signal it. It is queer also that if the *urca* came as close to the land as about two leagues, its lookout, alert for any such signs, did not see either the masts of Menéndez's ship or the outlines of a fortification, just after they decided to scrutinize the shore from the thirtieth to the thirty-second degree. Another point of discrepancy lies in the description of the sea; Rogel says it was calm at the landing place, and the pilot thought the calm portended a storm; Menéndez at San Agustín some thirty miles away, says it was rough. Alonso López de Almazán, writing to Avellaneda, Provincial of Andalucía, from Monte Christi, Dec.



the boat made for the low shore that this was a farewell to his friend and superior.

As night approached the pilot began to fear that a prevailing and unusual calm portended a storm. Worried about the landing party the guns were fired to signal a return to the ship, but no answer came from the land. At midnight the storm struck. The crew, short-handed and terror-struck, were mutinous, as the ship was blown southward. The captain finally put in at Cape Carnaveral, about 150 miles south of the marooned landing party. Suddenly they found that the wind was blowing them toward a beach half a league away. They knew from the description of the coast how savage the natives were. And they had no weapons nor small boats. Giving themselves up as lost the sailors led by the pilot rushed to confession. Fortunately, the anchor held in spite of the strong current and wind, until a heaven-sent change in wind allowed them to escape the shoal and move away from Cape Carnaveral.

New danger promptly arose. The drinking water was gone, and the sailors were in open mutiny, demanding that the pilot set a course for Santo Domingo.<sup>39</sup> Rogel was grateful to God for a rain two days later which provided the water from then until they arrived at Havana, but he did not mention the mutiny in his letter nor put it in writing until long years afterward. We do not know his feelings when he sailed away from the land and the missionary field which he had so long desired. They left the coast of Florida on September 28, not knowing where to find a near port. Apparently the pilot returned in the general direction they had come and after twenty-six days, on October 24, put in at Monte Christi on the northern shore of Española, 1,200 miles from where Martínez landed and nearly 1,000 miles from Havana! Rogel and Villarreal had then not

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1, 1566, *MAF*, Doc. 43, tells the story of Martínez and the landing party as he had it from the survivor, Flores; from this account, p. 145, Menéndez had six ships when he saw the *urca*; one of these at least was a frigate, which could have overtaken the storeship if he sent it. Lowery, 270-271, follows Menéndez's account, and hence, puts the landing day as September 16. Kenny, 180-181, has the landing day as September 14, but says the *urca* waited for two days in calm weather for the return of the rowboat. Since much has been written about the death of Martínez, it seems unnecessary to recount it here.

<sup>39</sup> Indications of the mutiny have been passed over by Lowery and Kenny. In the Almazán account, *MAF*, 145, we find that the sailors would not land unless Martínez went with them, and this seems to be the only reason why he should have gone ashore. In Rogel's account of 1566, *MAF*, 116-117, it appears that he is trying to cover up the mutiny, by saying that they tried often to persuade the pilot to seek another port, finally arguing him into leaving the Florida coasts, but in his briefer account of 1606 or so, *MAF*, 607, Rogel says that the pilot was forced by threats.

been on land for 103 days. They were given shelter and food in the home of an important townsman, and heartily welcome it was.

They discovered that Pedro Menéndez Marqués, nephew of the Adelantado Menéndez de Avilés and Factor of the Florida colony, was a dozen leagues away at Puerto Real gathering meat for the colony.<sup>40</sup> A messenger was sent to him to announce the ship's arrival and to request a Spanish pilot, since the Fleming was in disgrace with the mariners. Rogel gives an account of his missionary work especially his daily crusade against the oaths, blasphemy, and uncleanness that left him sad of heart. More sorrow was brought to himself and Villarreal sometime after October 15, when one of the Adelantado's frigates arrived from San Agustín with the news of the death of Father Martínez. This was truly a personal loss, but at the same time it was the loss of a great laborer in the field so ready for the harvest of souls.

The captain of the frigate brought orders from Menéndez. The *urca* was to proceed to Havana with the two Jesuits, who would there find eighteen Indians from Florida. From these the missionaries could learn the language and customs of the lands toward which they were headed. The thought made Rogel eager to leave Monte Christi, despite the fine hospitality of his host, but Menéndez Marqués was taking his time about organizing the supply fleet. He arrived with six vessels at Monte Christi and proceeded to load the *urca* with stuffs and munitions and to add passengers—soldiers and Negro slaves.<sup>41</sup> Obviously, getting the missionaries to their destination was not the chief concern of the Florida officials. Furthermore, the overloading nearly brought disaster.

The fleet left Monte Christi on November 25, 1566.<sup>42</sup> Four days out it was becalmed. Then a north wind blew it toward some islands called *cayos*, evidently the long line of keys along northern Cuba. Their alarm grew when they found the water becoming more shallow and rocks, *ratones*, below. They cast out an anchor with a *rope cable*! This of course was soon severed. A second anchor was dropped and also was lost. The third and largest then went down. This held for about twelve hours, then broke. Adrift, among the shoals they could neither launch the pinnace nor swim ashore. Their

<sup>40</sup> MAF, 118.

<sup>41</sup> MAF, 118-123; for an account of his spiritual and medical work in Monte Christi, see 123-129.

<sup>42</sup> MAF, 129-132, Rogel describes the voyage.

dismay finally gave way to relief when the wind died, and they thanked God for preserving their lives.

Pushing slowly north they very soon found themselves out in the Gulf Stream being pulled toward Florida, where more shoals awaited. Trying to get back they were terrified by a new danger. A series of great waves opened the sides of the storeship below the water line! The sea began to enter the hold. And worst of all Marqués and his escorting ships were pulling away. In vain they fired salvos as night descended. The three pumps were manned while repair work went on. Through the night the sailors, soldiers, and slaves labored to weariness on the pumps. The leaks were plugged, the ship limped into Havana, having been sixteen days at sea. Rogel and Villarreal disembarked on December 10.

### Havana and Calus

The two were offered a home in several places but they chose to stay with the pastor of a church. They both suffered from tertian fevers throughout December, and Rogel's knowledge of medicine was put to use to bring back health. They forgot their troubles when they met the eighteen Indians. Optimism and zeal crop out in Rogel's letter, for he saw in these Indians a promising field for instruction and conversion.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, there were the Negro slaves to be won to Christianity, 300,000 of them, he says, with some exaggeration. He begged his superiors to send many men to aid in the apostolic work. Little did he realize that it would be months before he himself would be in the nearby mission lands. During these months he spent his time serving the people of the port of Havana, the soldiers, sailors, natives, and slaves, while acquainting himself with the Florida scene.

The land of the Caloosa Indians and their vassals extended from present-day Miami south around the tip of Florida and up the west coast to Tampa Bay. It was the periphery of the Everglades and included the Florida Keys and other islands. The most important chief, Carlos, has his village called Calus inside Charlotte Bay. Near this Menéndez landed in February, 1566. He named the bay San Antonio and negotiated a treaty with Carlos. To secure this he had himself married according to the Indian rites to the chief's daughter, baptized Antonia for the occasion, thus adding a blot to

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<sup>43</sup> MAF, 134-189.

his escutcheon, for he had a wife in Spain.<sup>44</sup> He sent Antonio and other Indians and the white castaways saved from Indian slavery to Havana. In October of that year Captain Francisco de Reinoso was sent to Calus with thirty soldiers to build Fort San Antonio. To this place Rogel was destined to go, as soon as Menéndez got back from Europe to war-torn Florida.

Menéndez de Avilés arrived in Havana in January or February of 1567. When the two Jesuits left with him for Florida has been a disputed point among historians. Woodbury Lowery and Father Kenny say that they left for their posts February 28 and March 1, while Rogel states that he began his missionary work only on July 1, but thanks to Zubillaga the confusion seems to be resolved, except for the exact dates of the following events.<sup>45</sup> On February 28 or March 1 Menéndez sailed north out of Havana with a fleet of six brigs, taking with him Rogel and Villarreal, 150 soldiers, and Antonia and her companions. They arrived at Calus in Charlotte Bay, where Chief Carlos received them. Rogel beheld now his throng of prospective neophytes for the first time. Despite certain treacherous plans Carlos ultimately made a peace treaty. After several days Menéndez sailed north to plant a garrison on Old Tampa Bay. Rogel accompanied him to view the mission possibilities. Here at Tocobaga another peace was patched up with the more savage Indians and the fort was established. This done, Avilés returned to San Antonio and Carlos, where he left Rogel at the fort, not as a missionary but as a chaplain to Reinoso's soldiers. Then Menéndez sailed south and around to the east coast of Florida to settle Brother Villarreal and a group of soldiers at Tequesta, as the new fort on the Miami River, on the site of Miami, was called.

Rogel soon realized that there was no opportunity for missionary work, because Carlos and his tribe withdrew to the islands and were plotting the destruction of the Spaniards, himself included. Both soldiers and natives were in a nasty frame of mind. When Reinoso consulted with him about his intention to execute the chief,

<sup>44</sup> See Kenny, 141-142, on this mock marriage; although Fr. Kenny condemned the act, he went so far as to call it "the only serious blot on the otherwise clean escutcheon of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," an exceedingly broad statement. The explanation that Menéndez went through the rite on the advice of his captains in the "hope of bringing the Gospel to those tribes," is not convincing, especially in view of the large financial stake Menéndez had in Florida.

<sup>45</sup> Kenny, 190-191, following Lowery, 276, errs in thinking that Rogel made only one trip to Calus; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 266, 280, indicates the two trips, as does Rogel in his letter to Portillo, from Havana, April 25, 1568, in *MAF*, Doc. 85, 276, 290.

Rogel knew that a serious crisis was at hand. He could not placate either side, and so, at a date unknown he sailed to Havana to lay the case before the authorities and to get help. Several days after his departure Reinoso executed Carlos for treachery, and made the chief's brother Felipe the ruler.<sup>46</sup> The padre did not get back to Calus, or Fort San Antonio, to begin his mission until July 1. Meantime Villarreal was actually instructing the natives on the eastern coast at Tequesta from March, and thus was the first Jesuit missionary to work in Florida.

About the middle of June Menéndez Marqués was ready with several supply ships for a journey north.<sup>47</sup> Rogel sailed with him to Fort Tocobaga to hear confessions of the soldiers and to investigate the disposition of the Indians. On June 24 he said Mass at Tocobaga. During his four days stay he talked with the chief and found him and his people very much attached to their idols, so much so that when Marqués threatened to burn them, he vowed that he and his people would leap into the same fire. Without much hope for the northern outpost, Rogel returned to Fort San Antonio, arriving there on July 1. There he learned of the death of Carlos and met Felipe.<sup>48</sup>

From July 1, 1567, to December 8 no ship came to Calus, and Rogel fulfilled his rôle as a sincere missionary under increasingly discouraging circumstances.<sup>49</sup> He studied the language and the Indian customs and wrote long pages about the Caloosa beliefs and practices. His religious arguments fell on deaf ears as far as Felipe was concerned. The wily chief was decidedly against the idea of marriage to only one woman, no marriage between brothers and sisters, no idols, and baptism in general. Seeking other fields Rogel wished to go to Los Mártires Islands to evangelize the natives, but Reinoso opposed. He tried to obtain canoes from Felipe, but the captain forbade the chief and told Rogel that he would never be able to explain to Menéndez if Rogel were killed. During these long months there was ever the threats of the Indians against himself and the soldiers and ever the danger of an arrow from ambush.

The hardships increased when supplies ran low. The soldiers

<sup>46</sup> MAF, 311. For a description of Rogel's work and of Carlos's attempt on Rogel's life, see *Ibid.*, 277-310, and Kenny, 190 ff.

<sup>47</sup> MAF, 277. Rogel calls this new chief Escampaba here, but later Felipe; Zubillaga prefers Tocampaba both here and in his *La Florida*.

<sup>48</sup> MAF, 277.

<sup>49</sup> MAF, 290 ff. Rogel devotes some pages to describing his attempts to convert Felipe, the difficulties with the soldiers, and the reason for his journey to Havana.



abused the Indians until a revolt appeared likely at any time. When the storehouse was almost empty a ship for Tocobaga stopped on December 8 and unloaded all too few provisions. Something had to be done immediately, consequently Rogel at the request of Reinoso left for Havana on the returning ship on December 10.

Arriving in Havana he found the ships of Menéndez Marqués in the port.<sup>50</sup> He put the duty of sending help and supplies on the Factor's conscience. Marqués quickly promised the aid, and then took a full month to get it ready. Reading between the lines written by Rogel some months later to his superiors we can discover a complete condemnation of the plan of Menéndez in Calus. Rogel spent the time profitably preaching in the church of San Juan, instructing children, and talking to the slaves when they rested. His heart went out to these poor people for whom nobody seemed to have a thought. He remarks about the utter ignorance of the people and the inclinations to vice, and tells his superior that he does so in order to urge the king and his council to send men to remedy the evils. He probably was not aware during this last month of 1567 of the departure of Father Rúaiz del Portillo from Sanlúcar on November 1.<sup>51</sup> Actually, from December 24 to January 3, 1568, Portillo and his band of seven Jesuits were in Cartagena. He was the new Provincial of the Province of Peru on his way to found the Jesuits in Lima. Florida was part of the vast area under his jurisdiction and soon would become a vice-province of Peru with Father Segura as vice-provincial.<sup>52</sup> Rogel's one consolation was his first baptism. He baptized a little Indian girl in Havana.

Marqués had three ships ready to sail sometime in early January of 1568. He and Rogel proceeded to Fort San Antonio and then went up the coast to aid the Tocobaga soldiers. In Tampa Bay they received a decided shock.<sup>53</sup> No soldier, no Indian appeared in the fort or village. Marqués held a conference about the advisability of landing and decided to wait until the following day. A salute was fired to attract attention. But the next day the truth was learned—the entire force had been massacred. Sadly, the boats moved down to San Antonio where Rogel disembarked with the supplies he was able to gather.

<sup>50</sup> MAF, 292-293.

<sup>51</sup> F. Mateos, ed., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú*, Madrid, 1944, 125.

<sup>52</sup> MAF, Doc. 65, 205-206, Letter of appointment of Fr. Juan B. de Segura, by Fr. Jerónimo Rúaiz del Portillo, Sept. 28, 1567.

<sup>53</sup> MAF, 295-297.

Now there was no question of any great missionary work. It would require much space to describe his heartaches. The garrison felt insecure. There was mutual distrust between Indians and soldiers, and he was not allowed to go far from the fort. He talked much to Chief Felipe, hoping that if he won the chief his people would follow, but Felipe would promise to stop his idolatry and before the day was over would be openly holding the pagan rites. There was always the fear that he would ally himself with the Tocabaga chief for the destruction of San Antonio. Sometime in March Rogel had a heartening letter from the Bishop of Yucatan, and with it a supply of maize. He had written to Bishop Francisco de Toral, a Franciscan, about a certain "case of conscience," and had asked for some maize. Bishop Toral sent far more than he had asked, but Rogel had to give half of this to the soldiers.<sup>54</sup>

Trouble in lower Florida began to mount. Rogel tried to stop the soldiers from harming or mistreating the Indians. Writing to Francis Borgia he says:

Thus the soldiers at the fort have begun to treat the natives as if they had been conquered in war. They so abuse them and oppress them that the Indians refuse to tolerate it. First they counselled them to go away for the land is not suitable for colonization, then, when their counsels were of no avail they set out to kill every Spaniard they could and burn down their towns. Your Paternity may understand that though I had my hands full laboring among the Indians, so untamed, restless, and evil beyond belief, yet that was nothing compared to my trials when I strove to prevent the soldiers from harming the Indians. Their opposition has been so open that I have frequently confronted them, offering freely to die and threatening that even if they should slay me I should not cease to rebuke their evil deeds. So now they fear me, and though they still do wrong, their crimes are not so many and they try to conceal them from me. In this matter the Captain at Fort Carlos has aided me for he has rigorously punished the malefactors.<sup>55</sup>

More bad news soon came. On Passion Sunday, April 4, Brother Villarreal and eighteen soldiers came in from Tequesta<sup>56</sup>. There, and all along the eastern coast, the Indians had risen in revolt and at Tequesta had slain four soldiers. The others, for reasons not stated but clear, left the post. The next event was the destruction of San Agustín by De Gourgues on April 14, 1568. Florida had become a very unhealthy place for Spaniards, hence sometime between April

<sup>54</sup> MAF, 298-299; Toral's response of Feb. 27, 1568, is given 299-302.

<sup>55</sup> MAF, Doc. 89, Rogel to Borgia, July 25, 1568, 320; this is translated in *Historical Records and Studies*, "First Jesuit Mission," *loc. cit.*, 82.

<sup>56</sup> MAF, 304-305.

4 and April 25, Rogel and Villarreal arrived in Havana. Affairs were at a standstill in Florida, since nobody could act until Menéndez returned. The Indians were to be allowed to practice their own rites.<sup>57</sup>

After April 25 Rogel received an order from his new superior, Juan Bautista de Segura, to go to San Agustín and to wait there until he came.<sup>58</sup> Segura and his group of Jesuits left Spain on March 13.<sup>59</sup> Rogel departed from Havana in the mail ship in May and reached San Agustín the Thursday before Ascension Thursday, which was May 19.<sup>60</sup> He stayed in the reconstructed fort until May 31, hearing the confessions of the soldiers. Then, since Segura had not arrived, he decided to go north on a tour of inspection of Guale, where he found conditions among the Indians far better than on the west coast. His report on the prospects was very optimistic. From Guale he went twenty-two leagues to Santa Elena, where cannibalism had been reported flourishing. This calumny he refuted, but he admitted that the Indians were not as peaceful in Santa Elena province as in Guale. He was hopeful of their conversion if good settlers were sent there.

When Rogel arrived back in San Agustín on July 3, 1568, he found to his great joy Father Segura. With him were two priests, three lay-brothers, and eight novices. The laborers and companions whom Rogel had so long wished were now in the field. For some days plans were discussed, and it was decided that the headquarters for the present should be Havana, where a training school for the prospective Jesuits and the Indians was to be established, as suggested by Menéndez, Rogel, and Segura. The group left San Agustín for Havana on July 10. On the way along the coast they stopped near Cape Cervera to talk to the Indians and to return to those shores two natives who had been brought to Spain by Menéndez, one a brother of the chief at Tequesta. Thus a new friendship was established with the Tequesta Indians and the land seemed ripe for the teaching of Christianity.

They were back in Havana before July 25. Segura assigned his men to the different places, but throughout August and part of September there were no boats to take them to their missions. He and

<sup>57</sup> MAF, 319; "First Jesuit Mission," 81.

<sup>58</sup> MAF, Doc. 91, 331.

<sup>59</sup> MAF, Doc. 76, Segura to Borgia, Feb. 8, 1568, 245.

<sup>60</sup> For the data in this and the following paragraphs we have Rogel's letter as cited in note 55 and its translation, and for a running account there is Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 317-324.



Rogel were to remain in Havana.<sup>61</sup> Rogel was to begin the school, or seminary, when Menéndez came with the promised support. Father Alamo and Brother Villarreal were to go to Calus. Before his departure Alamo was stricken with fever, and hence Rogel was ordained to go. He left on September 22 with Menéndez Marqués, intending to go first to Tequesta, but the winds prevented sailing in that direction. The plan to see the effects of the return of the chief's brother to his land and if possible to bring back some children fell through. They headed instead toward Calus. "The passage which ordinarily takes but two days, we made in nineteen; and for awhile at the entrance to the bar of Carlos one of the ships was almost lost and a great number of people almost drowned when a storm struck while they were in the shallows of the same bay."<sup>62</sup>

Rogel remained at Fort San Antonio eight days to hear the confessions of the soldiers. When they arrived Chief Felipe and his people were dancing around poles supporting the heads of four chieftains who had plotted a revolt. Felipe, however, was friendly to him and to the Spaniards, but Rogel was not certain whether that was because of a change of heart or need of Spanish protection against his enemies. Felipe had slain eleven leaders, which is sufficient indication that he was thoroughly hated by his vassal tribes. Father Alamo under such conditions was bound to have a difficult time in Calus.

About October 17 Rogel set out for Tequesta. Somewhere near the tip of Florida the ships were delayed six days because of the winds. Their provisions ran low and they had to return to Havana. Here all but one of the Jesuits had been ill with colic and fever, though they were now recovering and Segura was planning an inspection tour of the southern Florida forts. Rogel was to remain at Havana as rector, and was to be vice-provincial in case anything happened to Segura. On his appointment we have illuminating comments. Segura wrote, November 18: "I thought it according to God's will that Father Rogel remain here as Rector because he is experienced in the government of the Society and is esteemed by all on account of his virtue and age."<sup>63</sup> Rogel, at this esteemed old age of thirty-nine, wrote: "God knows, if the choice were left to me,

<sup>61</sup> For Rogel's activities from July 25 to November 10, 1568, we have his letter to Borgia, dated Nov. 10 from Havana, in *MAF*, Doc. 91, 331-343, translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 86-95.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 90; *MAF*, 337. The latter has 19 days, the former 10.

<sup>63</sup> *MAF*, Doc. 94, Segura to Borgia, from Havana Nov. 18, 1568, 359; translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 96.

how much I would prefer to be in Florida than here, . . . and how willingly I would choose to be there rather than anywhere else in the whole world."<sup>64</sup> Apparently, Rogel was destined to be a padre of the port of Havana.

By February 5, 1569, the rector of the Jesuits at Havana was worried about many things.<sup>65</sup> The house in which he and Brother Carrera lived was rented, and alms were supporting it and the tenants. The Governor, Borgia, and Rogel were anxious to get the college built, in fact Rogel had promise of a donation for the construction, but he did not have the authority to select the site. He would have to wait for Segura, whose whereabouts on the east coast were not known. He wrote of the great demands for the services of the fathers and begged Borgia to send more men. Even Felipe, the chief of Calus, had visited Havana, showing signs of favor toward Christianity, although still clinging to his idols.

Felipe returned to Calus about mid-February with Father Alamo and Brother Villareal. The Governor, Menéndez de Avilés, assured him that he would follow in a few days with help to aid him in his wars. However, while Rogel was busy during Lent in Havana, affairs at Calus came to a disastrous pass. Menéndez Marqués sailed there with men and supplies for the fort. He found that Felipe had no intention of foregoing his idol-worship and moreover was in a plot to do away with the Spaniards. Therefore, he destroyed the idols, executed Felipe and a dozen lesser leaders, packed all aboard boat, including the two Jesuits, and put back into Havana, most probably in May, 1569.<sup>66</sup> Thus, *finis* was written to the story of the Jesuits in Charlotte Bay.

### Episode in South Carolina

In June Segura came to a decision to abandon all ideas of missionary work in southern Florida, that is Tocobaga, Calus, Los Mártires, and Tequesta, and to move his men to Guale, Santa Elena, and Orista.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, he thought the proposed preparatory

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>65</sup> MAF, Doc. 99, Rogel to Borgia, from Havana, February 5, 1569, 378-383, translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 102-105, 106-107.

<sup>66</sup> The letter does not give the date of the abandonment of San Antonio and the province of Calus, but Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 347, has May.

<sup>67</sup> Reasons for the move are given in five letters of Segura in MAF, 384-394; they are Doc. 100-I, Segura to Portillo, from Havana, June 19, 1569, 384, translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 107, but as Segura to Borgia; Doc. 100-II, Segura to Borgia, June 19, 1569; Doc. 100-III, Segura to Borgia, from Santa Elena, July 4, 1569; Doc. 102, Segura to Borgia, July 5, 1569. See also Rogel's *Relación*, 609-611. From these letters it is clear that there was no missionary failure on the part of the Jesuits, since they

college should be at Santa Elena, closer to more tractable Indians. The province of Guale, or Amelia Island and its environs, was in northern Florida and Georgia. Up the coast in present South Carolina was the province of Santa Elena whose headquarters were in the settlement of that name, now known as St. Helen. Northeast five leagues across St. Helen Sound was Orista, later called Edisto. Rogel was named missionary for this latter place, which was precisely the land where he had first seen North America.

After June 19, Rogel sailed with Segura and the other Jesuits to Santa Elena. They arrived late in June and he remained there until August, planning the work in the new field.<sup>68</sup> In mid-August, he says, he started his labor in Orista, a labor of eleven months.<sup>69</sup> He little foresaw in these early days of hopefulness that on July 13, 1570, he would be tearing down the crude chapel and hut which he was building.

The program adopted for Orista was an improvement over that in Calus. There was no guard of soldiers to molest the natives. The Indians were to be allowed to live their lives until drawn to the mission as Christians. They would be accepted into the new religion only after instruction and without coercion or the thought of temporal or other gain. Rogel had to study their language well in order to carry out this plan, and he brought three of the young Jesuit postulants with him to learn the tongue. Patience seemed to be the watchword, but Rogel could endure the hardships as long as the promise of conversion appeared so bright.

"The first resident priest of South Carolina," as Lanning terms Rogel, learned the language in six months time, well enough to preach sermons to the Indians.<sup>70</sup> He labored at building homes for

had hardly engaged in any under the circumstances. It is clear also that they were considered more as chaplains at the forts, and there is an impression left by the letters that they did not wish to be such. They had been given to understand that they were to preach the Gospel to the natives, and they had numerous scruples about absolving Menéndez and his soldiers, as is testified by Rogel's letter to the Bishop of Yucatán "about a certain case of conscience," and Segura's requests for decisions, and his sending Fr. Alamo back to Spain to get solutions to the problems.

<sup>68</sup> MAF, Doc. 125, Rogel to Menéndez, from Havana, Dec. 9, 1570, 472.

<sup>69</sup> MAF, Doc. 104, Rogel to Hinistrosa, from (the province of) Santa Elena, Dec. 11, 1569, 399. Apparently, one of the postulants taken by Rogel to the mission was the son of this Juan de Hinistrosa. This letter and others written by Rogel later have been the bases for the many accounts of Orista written by John Gilmary Shea, Brinton, Lowery, Vargas Ugarte, Kenny, Zubillaga, and Lanning.

<sup>70</sup> John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935, 44. Dr. Lanning's fine account, 44-47, is marred by the wrong use of titles for the Jesuits; he calls them friars, while some of the brothers are called fathers, and Father Borgia is called Duke.

them, finishing twenty in the course of his stay. For planting corn he had brought three hoes, and in the spring obtained five more from Santa Elena. He tramped the woods at times to be with his wards when they were away. He cared for their sick when an epidemic struck. He procured presents and corn for them, but never received a sign of real confidence, rather only jeers and jokes.

The first great blow to his hopes came after two and a half months. The Orista Indians migrated. They held preliminary dances and ceremonies in various villages before wandering out into the woods in search of acorns and other food. They left behind only ancients of the tribe, and they would return probably in the spring to plant their widely scattered fields of corn. Rogel was practically alone with his dreams of an organized community. He thought at first that the solution would be to get provisions for them to prevent their nomadic existence, but finally concluded that what they had been doing for thousands of years could not suddenly be stopped. He began to realize, too, that the mere sight of a planned existence was irritating to them. When they straggled back during the winter and found the village building in progress and corn ready for those who wished to plant, they remained more and more aloof. Only two families used the hoes and seed.

The second blow was his final conviction that they preferred the devil to his God. When they asked him about the devil, Rogel's description corresponded to their ancestral god.<sup>71</sup> When he told them that the devil was their enemy and that they would have to hate him, the Indians refused to listen to him any longer.

The final reason for the end of his career in South Carolina was the Spanish violation of the agreement regarding quartering soldiers upon the natives. This program stemmed from the neglect on the part of Menéndez, busy with court politics, to send sufficient supplies, and even salaries for the garrisons. In June, 1570, Juan de Vandra, the lieutenant in charge at Santa Elena, being hard pressed to feed his soldiers, began quartering forty on the Indians in Rogel's vicinity, then issued an order to the chiefs of Escamacu Island, Orista, and Ahoya, to send by a set date a designated number of canoes filled with corn to Santa Elena. This was what Rogel had promised to defend the Indians from—military interference and oppression. To them then he appeared a traitor. A revolt loomed. Now, Rogel had been ordered by Segura to leave Orista if there should be any

<sup>71</sup> For this and the following paragraph Rogel's letter to Menéndez, *MAF*, 473-475, has been followed.

appearance of danger of death. This he was bound to obey. He knew what would happen if he remained after the soldiers withdrew. Consequently, a week before their departure with great grief of heart he commenced tearing down his chapel and home. He bade farewell to the Oristans, and on July 13, 1570, left with the soldiers for Santa Elena. He later wrote to Menéndez telling him in effect that there was no hope of ever converting the savages any place in Florida. Reading between the lines he appears to be saying that the whole Florida project was doomed to failure.

The forts along the coast were in a bad way. The soldiers were unpaid, half naked, and starving. Indeed, in these summer months they were mutinous, and at San Agustín Menéndez Marqués barely prevented the garrison from escaping. "Their intention was to seize a boat lying in the harbour and put to sea in her without a pilot, sailors, anchors, or any equipment whatever, so eager were they to abandon the fort and escape from that fateful region."<sup>72</sup> Las Alas, one of Menéndez's able lieutenants, had deserted his post in the south, had sailed north picking up officers, officials, and men to the number of 120, and had sailed from Santa Elena for Spain on August 13, 1570.<sup>73</sup> This desertion left only 150 soldiers to guard the forts of the whole coast, and enough food and ammunition for a few months. In a plague in Guale one of the Jesuits, Brother Váez, had died.

Under these circumstances of starvation, desertion, and lack of discipline in the Spanish forts and with the Indians very hostile and practically at war with the whites, the missionaries had no choice about staying. They could go north where, they were told, the natives were nicer, or they could go back to Havana. Thus it happened that Segura divided his forces. He with four other Jesuits and four young postulants or catechists went to Virginia. He sent Rogel, Father Antonio Sedeño, three lay-brothers, and some catechists to Havana. On August 5, 1570, Segura left Santa Elena for Chesapeake Bay, lured to this promising land by the treacherous Christian Indian Luis.<sup>74</sup> The story of the slaying of eight of the band on the

<sup>72</sup> Lowery, 359.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 357.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 360, and Appendix EE, 461-464. Lowery has been the authority for this date of departure, but Zubillaga in his note in *MAF*, 477, n. 25, and in *La Florida*, 396, says the date is unknown; he thinks that Segura could not have left Santa Elena before September and that he could not have settled at Ajacán until late November or early December. From another statement of Zubillaga in *La Florida*, 416, n. 50, we know that Sedeño on Nov. 14, 1570, was named by Borgia superior of the Florida missions during the absence of Segura; this means that Borgia in Rome on that date knew of Segura's departure, and it must have taken weeks for word to get to Rome and it could have taken three months.



Rappahannock, or the Potomac, or both rivers, February 4 and 7, 1571, has often been told. Rogel and the others left Santa Elena in July or August of 1570 in a small sloop for Havana.<sup>75</sup>

### Trouble with Menéndez

Rogel's life for the next two years was spent in Havana. He was Rector of a college-to-be, but living in some unsanitary quarters on alms. Promises were numerous, but still only promises. He and Sedeño won the affection of the people of the city through their sermons and confessions, but they spent much of their time helping the poor and instructing the Negro slaves. Performing the routines of parish priests they anxiously awaited a call from Segura and the arrival of Menéndez during the last of 1570 and the beginning of 1571.

In the Spring of 1571 a Captain González with Brother Salcedo sailed up the eastern coast of Georgia and South Carolina and put into Chesapeake Bay where they noticed ominous signs.<sup>76</sup> Indians were wearing parts of the cassocks of Jesuits. And there were no missionaries about. González heard that one of the Segura band, Alonzo, was a captive. Amid a shower of arrows he captured two of the Ajacán Indians to bring back to Havana for questioning. One of these dove overboard, the other refused to speak. Rogel and Sedeño knowing the treacherous nature of the east coast Indians feared for the worst. They wanted to send out a rescue party immediately.

Now Menéndez had arrived in Havana, this time bringing his wife for a long residence in America, in, of all places, Santa Elena. He had written to Borgia January 10, 1571, begging for at least four more Jesuits, saying "any one of them will be worth more than a thousand soldiers."<sup>77</sup> Borgia had answered, March 20, that he had heard how the Indians preferred to be with the devil in his inferno rather than with God, that he had no men to spare, that there were requests for their services in far more promising places than Florida.<sup>78</sup> Evidently, Borgia had sized up Menéndez's enterprise correctly from the letters of Rogel and the others. As for the long proposed seminary in Havana, Borgia wrote, the men assigned to it would be under no obligations to go to Florida or be prohibited

<sup>75</sup> MAF, 478, 487 n. 4.

<sup>76</sup> MAF, 613; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 414-415.

<sup>77</sup> MAF, Doc. 126, 481.

<sup>78</sup> MAF, Doc. 128, 489-490.

from moving freely. In the face of all of the condemnations of Menéndez's operations by the Jesuits, the Spanish court, the House of Trade, the captains of the forts, the Indians, and even Pope St. Pius, it is very surprising to read the Jesuit Father Kenny's constant defence of the Adelantado.<sup>79</sup>

Even in the Summer of 1570 Borgia had made up his mind about sending more men to barren Florida. He wrote through his secretary:

Señor Pero Meléndez, governor and adelantado of Florida, is very insistent about bringing many fathers of the Company to those places, arguing that their presence would be very useful. Now it seems that it is neither useful, because no fruit can be hoped for among those Indians, nor convenient, because the life they lead is most laborious; each is separated from the other among pagan Indians without hope of converting them from their barbarity and crudeness. To each one is measured out a ration of maize with absolutely nothing else, so that some are dead and others have such stomach trouble, since they are delicate and more at home in studies, that if they stay much longer in that place they will die like the others. Father Baptista de Segura who is their vice-provincial, says that one Brother wanted to embark from there of necessity, and the captain told him that if he were allow any theatine to sail the adelantado would hang him from a yard-arm; those were his orders and he showed them in writing, and they also said that unless it was by the provision of His Majesty, they could not sail even though it were necessary. Our Father [Borgia] desires that the religious there have the same liberty that they have in all other places, as is reasonable, and it is enough for them to give their labors and to spend their lives where they will be for the service of the Majesty of heaven and earth, without losing also their liberty. Wherefore, let your reverence or Father Esquivel, treating tactfully with the most illustrious Cardinal President, see to a remedy for this vexation, so that if they think it necessary they may move as and when they wish.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 229-231. Kenny begins by absolving Menéndez from all blame for the deaths of the Segura band, because the governor was in Spain bearing "much of the burden of Spanish empire in two hemispheres." In the midst of "multitudinous toil" and "malicious machinations" Menéndez received from Pope St. Pius V a personal Brief, which "does merited justice to the Christian character and achievements of the great Adelantado." The whole letter is given, and it appears to be a sharp reprimand rather than praise.

<sup>80</sup> There is such great confusion in Lowery, 372-375, and Kenny who follows him, regarding dates and trips of the ships that it would take long to untangle the story. With the publication of the *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae* and Zubillaga's *La Florida* much can be cleared up regarding the Jesuits and Menéndez. There are four important letters covering this and the following three paragraphs. These are MAF, Docs. 129, 130, 131, 132, pages 493-519; Doc. 129, Sedeño to Polanco, from Santa Elena, Feb. 8, 1572; Doc. 130, Sedeño to Borgia, same date, same place; these are translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 112-126; Doc. 131, Rogel to Borgia, from Havana, Mar. 10, 1572; Doc. 132, Nadal (Vicar General) to Sedeño from Rome, June 20, 1572.

Affairs came to a crisis in the Spring of 1571 with the report of González and the arrival of Menéndez in Havana. Sedeño asked that a rescue party be sent to Ajacán,<sup>80</sup> and Menéndez promised to do so. Sedeño prepared a ship with provisions and with Menéndez's fleet sailed for San Agustín. The conditions in the fort were very bad, consequently Menéndez saw that he would need all provisions to save it. Sedeño wishing to be on to Ajacán reminded Menéndez of his promise of rescue, but the Adelantado absolutely refused to go. He said that he had been on the seas twenty-three years, knew his office and the sea very well, and considered a trip to Ajacán foolish. If Sedeño went, it would be his own responsibility and he would have to explain to the king; Menéndez would give no pilot nor soldiers. Sedeño could do nothing but conform. The supply ship was unloaded and sent back to Havana, with word to Rogel to do nothing until the following year.

The empty ship gave Rogel an idea. He has been criticized for carrying it out, even reported to Borgia as disobedient in Sedeño's letter. Instead of trying to explain away his action, writers should long ago have given him great credit. He filled that empty ship with provisions, directed its unknown captain to go to Santa Elena, obtain guides and go to the rescue of Segura. As rector at Havana he could do this. Sedeño as superior of Florida, he felt, could not forbid him to do what charity demanded. As for Menéndez's orders, they had no validity.

The ship arrived at Santa Elena in September, 1571. Shortly afterward Menéndez and Sedeño arrived. In spite of Sedeño's protests, Menéndez confiscated the supplies for his starving and sick people. He would not go to Ajacán in the Spring because he said it would be stormy there; he did not go in the Summer; and now he thought it would be foolish to go because Winter was setting in. In short, the Governor was not so concerned about Segura. So, the ship empty again went back to Rogel in Havana.

Rogel promptly filled it and sent it north. This time Brother Carrera was put in charge. Unfortunately, the ship stopped at San Agustín, and there ran into Menéndez and Sedeño who had returned from Santa Elena. This was in November when they were about to sail for Havana. Rogel's ship was ordered to join Menéndez's for the journey south. Disaster overtook them at Cape Carnaveral. The ship and supplies were lost and the other after dreadful dangers returned to San Agustín. The bad fortune continued, for fevers claimed the soldiers and Sedeño, who had been nursing the sick,



and the storehouse mysteriously burned. Sedeño went to Santa Elena, where he was in February, 1572. Rogel, writing in March, says that Menéndez forced Sedeño to be the curate since there was no other priest in Florida.

While this was transpiring Rogel, active in Havana and on the estates with the slaves, received some heartening news from Rome on March 10, 1572. Borgia told him of the victory of Lepanto on October 7, 1571, and of the birth of Prince Charles in Spain. Above all was the news that Borgia had decided to send sixteen Jesuits to New Spain which was to be a new province, and Florida was to be abandoned. The newly appointed provincial was Father Pedro Sánchez and Rogel would be under his jurisdiction. In June other letters arrived telling Rogel that he was in charge at Havana in the absence of Segura and Sedeño but that the latter would be superior until the new provincial arrived. Rogel was told to find out about Segura, about whose band all were worried.<sup>81</sup>

Word then came from Pedro Sánchez directing Sedeño to go to Mexico to prepare a place to live for his group.<sup>82</sup> Sánchez left Spain on June 13, and Sedeño left Havana before June 27. Rogel was preparing for his voyage to Ajacán to find the lost Segura. For Menéndez had finally decided to make the search, especially since the officials had given a thousand ducats and three months pay from the king's treasury for thirty soldiers. He told Rogel that they would have to go to the Azores to get a pilot and the proper ship. The date for the departure from Havana was set as June 29.

When they arrived at San Agustín Menéndez changed his mind.<sup>83</sup> He decided to take his armada to Chesapeake Bay, more probably to find his route to China than to find the Jesuits. It was July 30 before the fleet got away from San Agustín. They delayed another five days at Santa Elena. Here they took Brothers Villarreal and

<sup>81</sup> *MAF*, Doc. 133, 520-521, Nadal to Rogel, from Rome, June 20, 1572.

<sup>82</sup> *MAF*, Doc. 134, 521-523, Rogel to Borgia, from Havana, June 27, 1572, for the data in this paragraph.

<sup>83</sup> *MAF*, Doc. 135, 524-531, Rogel to Borgia, from Baía de la Madre de Dios, (Ajacán), Aug. 28, 1572. All of the writers on Florida have used this document; it is based upon what Alonso told Rogel, as regards the massacre; what has apparently muddled the previous writings has been the uncritical use of two other accounts, namely, Brother Carrera's, *MAF*, Doc. 137, 535-570, written in 1600 in Puebla, Mexico, twenty-eight years after the trip, and that of Bartolomé Martínez, written also from memory and finished in October, 1610; this is in *MAF*, Doc. 138, 573-604, and is translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 129-148, where it is signed Jaime Martínez. It would take long to unravel the knotty points, hence we follow simply what Rogel wrote as he heard it.

Carrera on board, then they went to the Baía de la Madre de Dios, as Chesapeake Bay was called.

Menéndez ordered the frigate with the thirty soldiers and the Jesuits to go up the Potomac while his three heavier ships moved up the bay. The captain of the frigate was told to capture a chief and some important Indians for questioning. This was done when the Indians were lured aboard. The frigate then sailed down the Potomac amid a shower of arrows which wounded one Spaniard. In the return fire four Indians were killed. They learned from the captives only that another chief was holding Alonso Méndez, the survivor of the Segura mission.

Three leagues from the Potomac at the mouth of the Aquia they anchored, feeling that the Indians there would gather around the frigate, as they did. These were more peaceful and more informative. They said that the chief who held Alonso lived two days away but was in turn held captive by another chief. They would be willing to go there with a ransom, and thus it was arranged. Now this second chief had seen the soldiers of the frigate shooting and was afraid to approach the ship. Secondly, he wanted to gain the favor of Menéndez, and for these reasons he promptly delivered Alonso to Menéndez who was some leagues away. Those on the frigate waited two days before deciding that they were duped. They decided to join Menéndez, and on leaving the mouth of the river had to fire on some attacking Indians, killing a number. Rogel and the Jesuits at last heard from Alonso the sad story of the deaths of their companions. He wrote it as it was told on August 28, and addressed his letter to Borgia. But St. Francis Borgia never read the account, for he died on October 1, 1572.

Menéndez, encamped on Chesapeake Bay, sent out Indian messengers to bring in the ringleaders of the massacre, especially Luis, the renegade. He threatened to execute the captives if the messengers did not return, and when they failed to do so, he held a courtmartial for a week. Those having clothing or vestments of the slain fathers were condemned to death and hanged. Rogel baptized them before the execution. As the Adelantado wished to get back before Winter they all embarked for Havana. It has been said that they were shipwrecked and marooned at Cape Carnaveral, but there is no evidence in Rogel's accounts of such a disaster. In Havana they found Sedeño awaiting them after his trip to Mexico.

Rogel could now add up the results of the five years spent in Menéndez's Florida enterprise. Seven Indians had been baptized,

of whom four were dying babies; eight or ten had been baptized before execution. Seven Jesuits had given their lives; three catequists had been killed, and Alonso seems to have grown very wild and to have been sent back to Spain. Menéndez sailed out of their lives shortly after their arrival in Havana. He died two years later, September 17, 1574.

### Founding a College

Sedeño, Rogel, and two lay-brothers again went to live in their straw home in Havana while waiting for further orders. They gave their time in preaching, instructing, and ministering to all classes of the city and its outskirts.<sup>84</sup> Then, by December, 1572, Sánchez wrote from Mexico that there seemed to be no further need of staying in Havana, hence they should all come to Mexico City. When they announced this to the people of Havana there was decided opposition to their leaving, as the following letter of one of the officials to Philip II shows:

C. R. M. In this villa of Havana four Brothers of the Company of Jesus, two priests and two lay, have a straw house, where they have lived these four years until now; and now their General has sent an order that they should go soon to New Spain, and so they are all going and leaving their house empty, and they are doing this because they have no rental to sustain themselves. Seeing this I have organized the citizens for one year and have ordered [them to pay] 200 ducats for rent and some cassavas and meat, and I have offered this same for the day when they start their college here. They have made great progress in this villa since coming here, and if they have a college here they will make great improvements in this Island and in Santo Domingo, in the sons of the citizens and in all the people of the island, for until now all these people have lived in great licence; if they leave here, in six days all the good which they accomplished will be lost. It is certain that in the Negroes of Your Majesty, who sustain this fort, they have implanted such belief and Christianity that it is a source of contentment to see them respond. All the people are bewailing their going. I have begged them and admonished them not to go, and they, if they could, would remain for the good of the land. But they say that by their obedience they must go and can do nothing else, and that there could be no more than ten people [sustained] in the colegio to teach, to visit the pueblos, the ranches, the estates of the island, and to preach. If Your Majesty should offer to aid with another 200 ducats from your royal treasury each year, with this and bequests of deceased they could sustain their college and bring here the sons of the islands of Jamaica and Santo Domingo, and thus there would be a growth each day in this villa. With the fleet will go a letter from the Cabildo of this villa to Rome to their General, advising him of what the citizens have asked, so that, if with the rental they

<sup>84</sup> See Briceno letter below.

may have a house here, they may have it soon. Feeling that Your Majesty is served in aiding them with some rentals for this college and advising their General of those to come, all this island will receive great benefit. May Your Majesty provide that which is most conducive to your service and to the good of your vassals and citizens. May our Lord protect the Royal Person of Your Majesty and give health for many years with larger kingdoms and lands. From Havana, December 12, 1572.

FRANCISCO BRICENO.<sup>85</sup>

Now that this letter had been dispatched it was a question of tact with the Jesuits. They could not very well leave until an answer had been received from His Majesty. As a result they stayed in Havana for more than a year in their unsanitary house expecting, like the townsmen and the Cabildo, that the great monarch would be able to grant this small sum for their support, which was, after all, less than the salary of first class soldiers. When no reply came, Sedeño sent Rogel and Villarreal over to Mexico to inform the provincial of affairs in Cuba. They had no sooner left in the early part of 1574 than the letter of the king came to Havana.<sup>86</sup> His Majesty ordered them to remain in Havana, but, and this was important, said nothing about making any allowance for their support. Under these conditions it would be impossible for the Jesuits to have a decent home and support themselves in Cuba, for the people were poor. Again, Sánchez could well recall that the king gave them nothing in Mexico, where on their arrival they had to live in stables. And so Sánchez ordered Sedeño and the other brother to Mexico. By August of 1574 there were no Jesuits in Havana.<sup>87</sup> It is true that Sedeño returned in 1575 for another attempt lasting several years, but Rogel never again sailed the sea. He was destined, however, to found a college.

Rogel, "greatly exercised in hunger, poverty and want suffered in Florida," very probably enjoyed the fine climate of Mexico's highlands during the Summer of 1574.<sup>88</sup> In early December he was given a new assignment. The Bishop of Oaxaca, the third most important city of New Spain, had asked the Jesuit provincial to establish a college in his city, promising them houses and property for its support. Father Diego López and Rogel were sent south over the mountains and through the valley to investigate the possibilities.

<sup>85</sup> MAF, Appendix I, 617-618, Briceno to Philip II, from Havana, Dec. 12, 1572.

<sup>86</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 423.

<sup>87</sup> MAF, 623.

<sup>88</sup> Ms. "Fundación de la Compañía," of Juan Sánchez Baquero, 70; (see note 36 *supra*).

As they arrived in the outskirts of Oaxaca after a ten day journey they found a large welcoming committee of clerics, citizens, and Indians awaiting them. The procession moved into the main street of the city amid cheers, much to their embarrassment. They were escorted to their house, and later were warmly greeted by Bishop Alburquerque. Then they were invited to preach, and before long they were approved by the people.<sup>89</sup>

Trouble soon came from an unexpected source. One of the Dominican fathers visited the Bishop, and told him that the house of the Jesuits was within a zone restricted to the Dominican convent. What else he said is not clear, but without any warning Rogel and López found that they would not only have to vacate the house but also that they were excommunicated! López did not wait. He left Rogel in Oaxaca in this predicament while he took the case to Mexico City. Rumors spread that Rogel was to be ejected from the house, and when the time for this arrived he found people had gathered about him to prevent the forceful removal. This encouragement was as surprising as any of the recent events.

When things seemed darkest word came by courier from the Viceroy Enríquez, the Audiencia, and Archbishop Moya that the Jesuits were privileged by the Pope and King to live or to build any place. Bishop Alburquerque now outdid himself to keep the fathers in Oaxaca. Father López never returned, for he died in the plague of 1576, but in his stead Pedro Díaz came to help Rogel. The Bishop donated some houses, which could be used as a residence and for school purposes, and a site for the college. Next they were left a bequest for the foundation of a perpetual burse for a group of students. Another donation of 300 pesos of income from an hacienda was then made. With this, and probably with some remodeling, announcement for the opening of classes could be made. Rogel was appointed Rector of the *colegio* and he welcomed the students in September, 1575, to his school of San Juan.

The construction of the new building was begun on the donated site, and near it a chapel was erected during the course of the next school year. More donations were made as the work progressed, so that by September of 1576 a larger number of students could be cared for. From then on there was question of obtaining teachers for the college. Rogel was not aware that he had founded a school

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<sup>89</sup> Jerome V. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain*, University of California Press and Cambridge University Press, Berkeley and London, 1938, 203-207, contains the account briefed in these paragraphs.



that was to serve Oaxaca for 193 years. Apparently, the student body was divided into two sections, with Rogel in charge of the smaller group being boarded and educated on the first endowment and Díaz was Rector of the new establishment. By the time Rogel had completed his term of office, events had shaped a destiny for him elsewhere than in education.

### Final Port—Vera Cruz

Few records have been preserved which deal with the life of Rogel from the end of his rectorship at Oaxaca until his death. He had always wished to be among the Indians of North America, but the Jesuits were not permitted to go to the far north of New Spain until 1590, when Rogel had passed his sixtieth year. Instead of a missionary life he was cast into the rôle that reveals him as a great social worker, a doctor, a caretaker of public health, an instructor, and a pastor. Instead of the dangers of death at the hands of savages, he faced death from storms, plagues, yellow fever, pirates, and fires, in the port of Vera Cruz from 1579 to 1619—forty years.

How he went to Spain's port of entry to all North America is told by one who knew Rogel and lived with him, Juan Sánchez Baquero.

All the Jesuits arriving from Europe during this time at San Juan de Ulúa and the city of Vera Cruz suffered, because on landing fatigued, wasted, and in many cases infirm after the long, hard voyage, they had no lodging nor infirmary of their own. The college of Mexico City arranged to have food sent to refresh them and to bring some [to Mexico] by mule train, but sometimes the fleet came late and other times early, owing to the uncertainties of navigation; some lost their expense money, for the fleet did not support people of the Company. All in all it was a serious inconvenience not to have there their own house, and for this reason the desire to have a residence was put into execution in this year 1579.

San Juan de Ulúa is the port of entry in which the fleets appear each year coming from Castile to this land. The port is constructed by hand with a sturdy wall of lime and rock ending in two forts well armed with defence artillery. It is built on a reef running east and west, in whose harbor lie the ships sheltered from the sea and from the north wind which is a furious gale in that land. The winds start at the beginning of October and last until March; they are so strong that it is held to be a great feat for any ship to reach port, and thus the fleets which arrive somewhat late are in evident danger of being lost by reason of the wind and bad condition of the port. This port is a league from the coast, and sad though it be, there is no other along the entire coast of New Spain, to the great marvel of nature and the security of the kingdom. There is a little island in the port where a church is built and where resides the curé who ministers

to the garrisons of the forts and people from the fleet while it is there, from September to St. John's day.

The city of Vera Cruz is founded on the mainland five leagues north on the banks of a fresh river, a league in from the sea, and to a landing place on this the merchandise is brought from the port on barges made to draw little water and pass over the sandbar in the river below the city. The bar is not fit for anchorage since it is never in the same place; when the sea is aroused by the north gale the surf overruns the bar and forces the water of the river to enter the sea wherever they can, hence the bar changes daily. Sometimes there is enough depth for the barges to enter easily and other times only at great risk. Passing the bar they put the merchandise on other boats for a smoother journey on the shallow river to Vera Cruz, from which place they are carried to Mexico City 80 leagues journey westward by mule-cart and more commonly ox-cart.<sup>90</sup>

Sánchez Baquero goes on to describe the town as hot, humid, infested with mosquitoes and vermin, unsanitary, and very unhealthy. Its inhabitants were thirty dwellers who represented merchants of the highlands and bought and sold merchandise at the fairs. Negro slaves and mulattos did the labor; they were healthy in the climate. No Indian was within sixteen leagues of the sandy and unfertile site. The population would rise to 2,000 when the fleet was in port. With the wealth of Spain and Mexico being exchanged in the only place of trade and commerce, the city became a hotbed of vice, cheating, and death by fever or plague. Such was to be the scene of Rogel's work.

Because of his experience in medicine and with men of the seas he was assigned to go there with Father Alonso Guillén to find a suitable site and to build a residence. Arriving when the town was filled with traders, sailors, gamblers, slaves, and people who profit by such surroundings, they preached and begged donations for their house. When they had enough money to purchase the land a land agent tricked them into buying a plot outside the town on a difficult road. They then had to pay slave owners to get slaves to carry stone for the building. This had to be carried by cart a distance of sixty leagues from the quarry. The cost of the building was 16,000 pesos. Meantime their sermons and their caring for the sick gradually turned the minds of the crowds in their favor. They banded together to buy the padres a larger house in the city, possibly to avoid journeying on the difficult road to the crude chapel. The recently

<sup>90</sup> Ms. "Fundación de la Compañía," Chapter 27, 153 ff. Alegre, I, 148-151, bases his description on Juan Sánchez, but adds details in describing the "worst place in New Spain." He says that the Jesuits had preached there several times and as a result of this were invited by the citizens to to live in Vera Cruz.

built house was then sold and with the proceeds of the sale and collections a church was erected and occupied within two years time. As their talks against vice brought many to repentance, the church was soon not large enough for the throngs, consequently they built a large auditorium, the largest in all Mexico. By the time the fleet left in the Spring of 1582, they were well established.

Between the coming and going of the fleet Rogel found much to do instructing the free Negroes and slaves.<sup>91</sup> There were two to four thousand of these regularly employed during the eight month stay of the flota, but many were used as carriers and loaders by the merchants of Mexico. Somehow, Rogel in Cuba and in Vera Cruz developed a keen desire to aid the poor fellows in every possible way, to get better treatment from their masters, to get more rest for them, to get time for their instruction. If a complete record of his long years of work among them were left it might reveal him as one of the great colonial social workers of the Americas. Yet we have only the general statements that this help to the slaves was one of his year in and year out occupations.

Another service he rendered was the establishment of a hospital in the port of San Juan Ulúa.<sup>92</sup> He had to travel the five leagues down the coast to visit the soldiers of the forts and hold services for them. In 1584 he says that he spent the whole of the eight months of the fleet's stay on the island. There he had arranged a hospital for the sick. He served them as a physician until 1598 when the new city of Vera Cruz was build on the shore opposite the fortress port. Again there is no detailed record of the daily work he did during these long years, nor of the numbers he ministered to during the plagues of colic, "cramps," yellow fever, and typhoid epidemics that are known to have swept the land. Nor is there any record of his having contracted any of the diseases that took so many lives in Vera Cruz.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Alegre, I, 151; Gerardo Decorme, *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, 2 Vols., Mexico, 1941, I, 24.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. also Astrain, IV, 403, for the letter of Juan Rogel to Aquaviva, from San Juan de Ulúa, May 4, 1584. Andrés Pérez de Rivas, *Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Compañía de Jesús de México*, 2 Vols., Mexico, 1896, II, 214; Rivas finished his history in 1652, but it was not printed until 1896; he was a contemporary of Rogel's since he arrived in Mexico in 1602; he has a long obituary of Rogel, describing in detail his religious life.

<sup>93</sup> Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulúa have been described by almost every traveler who came to North America from Cortés and Narváez to the present. Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1905, IX, 346-354, describes it as seen by the English merchant Tomson in 1558; Chilton in the same volume, 379, describes the mosquito plague. Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies*, London, 1655, 25, describes the

If Rogel had kept a diary, for which he had no time, it would prove to be a very interesting document. He must have seen many tragedies, many calamities, many heartbreaks. He must have seen or met all of the important people coming to or leaving North America during his active years in port; viceroys, generals, admirals, captains, professors, masters, missionaries, had to stop at the port or in Vera Cruz. Those about to embark on the dangerous trip would wish to confess and those arriving would have the same desire. He spent much of his time in the confessional, hearing the confessions of soldiers, sailors, travelers, poor and rich, notables and unknowns alike.

He, like his fellow workers to the number of four in Vera Cruz, constantly tried to uproot the evil practices in the rather lawless port. Cheating, simony, revengefulness, stealing, extortion, usury, blasphemy, swearing, libertinism and homicide were vices against which there was a constant warfare from the pulpit and in the public square.<sup>94</sup> Vera Cruz, in other words, was similar to many of our early lawless frontier towns of the west. At one time the lords of vice attempted to place Father Guillen in a compromising situation, which, had the plan gone through, would have brought discredit upon the work of uplift in the town. Through Rogel's instruction and urging many enmities were patched up, many injustices were repaired, many of those inclined to vice were reformed. Kindness, humanitarianism, and security gradually replaced the feelings of fear and distrust in Vera Cruz, and because of this more people were willing to remain there.

Another event aided in the development of the city. Every year some merchant or other would lose his goods during the transfer by barge, and the twelve mile trip might easily mean a loss of life. When an entire cargo was lost in the last mile after its long voyage from Spain, the officials decided to desert the old town and move to a site directly west of the port.<sup>95</sup> Thus, in 1598, San Juan de Ulúa and Vera Cruz were made one, though separated by two miles of

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hurricanes, as does Baron Von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, John Black translation, London, 1814, I, 85. and p. 132 calls Vera Cruz the "principal seat of yellow fever." Charles Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America*, New York, 1935, 132, mentions the loss in 1601 of fourteen ships with their immensely rich cargo and more than a thousand men at Vera Cruz. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, San Francisco, 1883, III, 26, says that Vera Cruz got the title of a city in 1615, and mentions the fires; and in III, 179, has a word about the tidal wave of 1665.

<sup>94</sup> Alegre I, 151.

<sup>95</sup> This calamity mentioned by Juan Sánchez, must have preceded the one mentioned by Chapman (see note 93) as happening in 1601.

sea. The inhabitants, however, made the mistake of building the houses of wood, since they wanted to avoid the delay and expense of cutting and hauling stone a great distance. The Jesuits of course had to move with the town, and Rogel, now seventy years of age but as active as ever, had to watch another residence being built. All felt safer from the dangers of the waves, but in 1606 they felt less safe because a fire burned some of the stores and goods before it could be stopped. Two years later another fire took part of the city, but apparently the new residence and church of the Jesuits made of planks survived.<sup>96</sup> The citizens again, rather than the king or officials, rebuilt their town and continued by their contributions to support their pastors and the church.

News of worldwide importance reached Vera Cruz while Rogel was there. Spain acquired control of Portugal and all of her colonies in 1580 and thereby ruled over the East Indies, part of India, Africa, North and South America, and the West Indies. In the eighth year of her rule the Spanish Armada was defeated. The English arrived at Jamestown, the French at Quebec as Rogel approached his eightieth year.

Through these and many stirring times he continued his daily work as the padre of the port, visiting the ships one by one as they arrived, winning people of all classes by his kindness, becoming a father to all, the poor, the slaves, the infirm.<sup>97</sup> Frequently he went without rest day and night in attending to his duties. As he came to be the ancient of the Jesuit Province of New Spain he was held in veneration by the increasing number of citizens; in fact he was known as the "angel of the port." When it seemed that he should be retired, the people would not let his superiors move him to a better climate, nor would they allow any other to be put in his place. In the last years of his life his infirmities would not permit him to continue his activities outside the house. Inside he moved about doing what he could to help with small details. In this manner then Juan Rogel reached his ninetieth year and the January of 1619. His passing and the tributes of gratitude paid to his memory by the entire city of Vera Cruz is best told by Alegre.

His death was preceded by the ruin of the house and church in Vera Cruz when nearly the entire city was destroyed by fire in the first days of that year [1619]. The convents of Santo Domingo and La Merced were burned. The fire had already passed our house without much damage, but

<sup>96</sup> The fire of 1606 is mentioned by Juan Sánchez, and that of 1608 by Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, III, 11.

<sup>97</sup> Pérez de Rivas, *Corónica*, II, 211-216; see n. 92 above.



eight barrels of gunpowder which were burning in the house of a merchant sent pieces of the roof and house flying in all directions. They set fire to the house and church and the fire was fanned by such a strong north wind that nothing could be saved but the Blessed Sacrament and Padre Juan Rogel, who because of his advanced age of ninety years had to be carried in the arms of two Jesuits and placed in the home of an honored citizen . . . an old penitent of his. The padres went to see him daily, not forgetting the very holy man because he was in a house apart from them. On the 19th [of January] they noticed that he moved about the whole house with extreme happiness and with the countenance of an angel. Seated for dinner at the table with his host, he suddenly arose, joined his hands, raised his eyes to heaven and then turning them to his benefactor who stared in astonishment, without speaking a word or giving any sign of care or anxiety, he closed his eyes and gave his soul to the Creator. The loss of the city was valued at two million pesos, wrote the rector of that *colegio*, but above this it was felt that the greater loss was that of a man so apostolic as Padre Juan Rogel and of such unusual virtue and holiness as to be counted among the most notable men whom the Company has ever had.<sup>98</sup>

ROSEMARY RING GRIFFIN

Chicago

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<sup>98</sup> Alegre, II, 115.

## Baegert Pictures a Lower California Mission

On the eastern coast of the long, thin, and misshapen peninsula called Lower California, about one-third north from its tip, sleeps the little settlement of Loreto, ancient mission center of the Black Robes. Here the first permanent mission on this rock-ridden and barren land was set up in 1697 by the Jesuit Juan María Salvatierra. Back of Loreto and for a hundred miles north and south along the coast there rise the pointed peaks, the corrugated bastions, and the sharp flanks of the rocky "Giantess," the Sierra de la Giganta. During the eighteenth century a rough and precipitous trail threaded south and then west from the mission center of Loreto, leading over a pass of the jagged chain and down into the mission of San Javier Viggé. Going on almost directly south from here, over desolate spurs and lava-strewn humps of the "Giantess's" feet and toes, the traveler arrives at the ancient mission site of San Luis Gonzaga. Referred to only casually by the early Jesuit historians, it remained for its second missionary, the realistic, the energetic, the somewhat arrogant Johann Jakob Baegert, to leave to posterity a minutely detailed and graphic picture of the old foundation set down in the midst of the desert.

The Alsatian Baegert never realized, we suppose, that a long letter he sent to his brother dated from San Luis September 11, 1752, would be to the future historians of the Lower California missions a pride and a joy. A year plus seven days were required for this lengthy missive to reach the city of Schlettstadt on the River Ili, tributary to the Rhine. On the banks of this stream classical Schlettstadt lies between Strasburg north and Colmar south and but a few miles away from each.<sup>1</sup> Here on September 18, 1753, Jesuit Baegert's Capuchin brother, Father Stanislaus Baegert, received a letter from the rim of Christendom, from Lower California's San Luis Gonzaga. The Capuchin kept his Jesuit brother's letter, of course, and happily a quarter century later, either the original or a copy got into the hands of the editors of the Alsatian periodical,

<sup>1</sup> Schlettstadt achieved fame during the later Middle Ages and early modern times through its school of the Brethren of the Common Life. Here the noted German humanist, Jacob Wimphiling (1450-1528), was educated.

the *Patriotischen Elsasser* of Strasburg and Colmar. In its columns the letter of the Lower California missionary was published during the course of the year 1777.<sup>2</sup>

The ancient site of mission San Luis Gonzaga forms an almost perfect triangle, obtuse from north to south, between the position of Loreto and that of La Paz. It lies seventy-five miles from both, as the crow flies, is twenty-five miles from the gulf waters, and about forty from the Pacific coast off Magdalena Bay. The nearest mission, almost directly east, was Dolores on the gulf. The main trail to San Luis was the one just described southwest from Loreto through the pass to San Javier and then on almost directly south. The journey from San Javier to San Luis according to Baegert required thirty hours.

San Luis was begun shortly after 1721 by the hard-working Clemente Guillén as an outpost or *visita* of mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the gulf coast, but it received its first permanent missionary, the German Father Lambert Hostell, only in 1737, and so became a mission in its own right.<sup>3</sup>

Hostell resided at San Luis for many years before Baegert came and was probably the Alsatian's only predecessor in the mission. He had baptized 1,748 Indians. Many of these died, of course, so that by 1745 San Luis had a baptized population of but 310, which seven years later had risen to 360, the figures Baegert gives, and he says that at his arrival there were ninety married couples, thirty widows

<sup>2</sup> The title of the published letter which seems to have appeared in pamphlet form is as follows: *Brief eines Elsassers aus Californien in Nord Amerika an seinen Bruder in Schlettstadt (1752) von Pater Jakob Bägert d. G. J. aus dem Patriotischen Elsasser*, Strasburg und Colmar, 1777. A photostatic copy of this printed letter has been procured by Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton and now belongs to the Bancroft Library of the University of California. Bolton had the printed and photographed document translated into English from the German by Mary J. Price.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual hasta el tiempo presente*, 3 vols. Madrid, 1754, II, 376 ff., and Francisco Xavier Clavigero, *Storia della California*, Venetia, 1789 III, ch. 12. Clavigero errs about the date of foundation, however; while Baegert himself says that San Luis was founded thirty-seven or thirty-eight years before his writing of 1752. But he is plainly mistaken, for at that time Guillén had not yet established the mother mission of Dolores on the coast. San Luis Gonzaga was the last establishment before the founding of the more famous San Ignacio in the north. Clavigero has been translated into Spanish and into English. The former edition is entitled *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California* tr. Don Nicolás García de San Vicente, Méjico, 1852. The English translation was done by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray with the title *The History of [Lower] California*, Stanford University Press, 1937. A new edition of Venegas' *Noticia de la California* . . . has recently appeared in three volumes, Mexico, L. Álvarez y Álvarez de la Cadena, 1943-1944.

or widowers, and the rest were children.<sup>4</sup> The little mission in the mid-eighteenth century had two *visitas* or mission stations (the Alta California *asistencia* of the Franciscans), one called Juan Nepomuceno and the other San María Magdalena on the shores of Magdalena Bay. Baegert, however, says that his people were divided into three groups, north and east and west.

When the realistic and (so far, at least, as the Indians were concerned) pessimistic and unsympathetic Alsatian Baegert arrived in California he was thirty-three years of age, for he had been born on December 22, 1717, in Schlettstadt. He was but eighteen when he entered the Jesuit novitiate of the Province of the Upper Rhine. Unlike many another missionary, he had finished his studies and had gone through his third year of probation before sailing for the New World.

November 16, 1750 marked the date of the California missionary's departure from the capital of New Spain to begin the last lap of his long journey from Europe to Lower California. And for the man of the mid-twentieth century a picturesque departure it was. Nine other Black Robes accompanied Baegert and they rode out from Mexico City on horseback or were mounted on mules. Seven of the priests were Germans. A train of twenty pack-animals followed carrying the missionaries' baggage. There were also drivers and the fathers' servants. Travel, as life, moved more slowly then. It was a month and three days before the party reached Guadalajara. They journeyed soldier-like, says Baegert, four, five, or six hours a day, except when it was necessary to reach a watering place before the day's end, when they would be on the road eight or maybe ten hours. Almost another month passed before they had threaded the precipitous trails of the deep-cloven barranca country north and east of Guadalajara to arrive at Tepic on the western coast. Then they trudged north passing through the pueblos of the olden Jesuit mission system of the mainland which had been started in 1591 by Fathers Tapia and Méndez. The ever observant Baegert looked at the mission churches and took note of the country, but the enthusiasm of this burly realist was nowhere aroused. At Mocorito was the only church of stone and cement he had seen since leaving Tepic. He remarks on the flimsy quality of the villages and the

<sup>4</sup> The 1745 figures are found in the *Informe que por orden del rey, envió el P. Prov. Cristóbal de Escobar, a fecha de 30 de noviembre 1745*. Provincial Escobar instructed Antonio Balthasar, Visitor to California, to gather in the information for this report. The Visitor did so by ordering each missionary to send in to him the necessary figures and other information. Venegas, Clavigero, Engelhardt, Decorme and others give a synopsis.

thinness of the population. Through Culiacán, Mocorito, Sinaloa, Los Álamos he passed on his way, doubtless to the port of Yaqui, for on March 28 he was at Torin on the northern bank of that river and near its mouth. Perhaps he went on a little farther to Guaymas and from there embarked upon the waters of the gulf. His companions of the first stages were shed one by one, for they were destined either for Guadalajara or for the coastal missions of the mainland, so that only two other padres crossed the gulf with Baegert.

If the missionary's journey from Mexico City had been slow and not luxurious, neither was his passage of the gulf. May 7 he pushed off in a dugout, or canoe, made of a hollowed tree trunk. It was nine yards long and but a yard and a half wide. Baegert had his misgivings in stepping into this clumsy affair, but he did so willingly, for "it was what had been provided by the Father Visitor." The bulky little craft had a sail which was used sometimes; at other times rowing was resorted to. They had fair going, for the season of the wild and cyclonic *chubasco* would not begin until the following month. In two and one-half days the party stood before Loreto and were greeted by a salvo from the presidial guns. Two weeks were spent in visiting two of the nearer missions and then on May 26, accompanied by one soldier and a few Christian Indians, Baegert on horseback took the trail which led southwest from Loreto over the Sierra de la Giganta to San Javier and then on south to San Luis. The journey was of two days with slow plodding over the uneven trail.

Our missionary's first impressions of the country and its people, of the hard, dry land of his adoption, were not favorable, nor were they going to be changed during the seventeen years he was destined to live upon California's rocks. His last and much longer report, written after his return to Europe and published in 1772, was of a piece with this his first letter.<sup>5</sup> Listen to the realistic report to his brother: "What is California?—From top to bottom and from coast to coast it is nothing else than a thorny heap of stones, or a pathless, waterless rock, rising between two oceans; consequently, as one might expect, it is desolate and almost without inhabitants . . . I often say in jest, either California is without exception the

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien, mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten*, Mannheim, 1772. This important work has been translated into English by Charles Rau under the title *An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the California Peninsula*, Washington, The Smithsonian Institution, 1863-1864, and recently into Spanish by Pedro R. Hendrichs as *Noticias de la Peninsula Americana de California, Mexico*, José Porrúa e Hijos, 1942.



most miserable country under the sun or if an equally miserable or worse country was ever discovered by the Argonauts, then California was used by the Almighty Creator as a model for making it . . . California is nothing but mountains and valleys. There are perhaps a few level places to be found, but they are negligible in comparison with the endless mountains, cliffs, and rocks." And then he tells us that "the continuous sun glare and the absence of greenery is . . . bad on the eyes."

This impression could well be made while the padre was on his way from Loreto to his mission, for the pass over the "Giantess" is steep and sharp with declivitous rocks and the country south and west of the sierra rolls in hardened humps until it levels off into the arid and cactus-ridden wastes of the Magdalena plain. Baegert found his mission situated in the bed of a waterless arroyo and closed in on three sides by hills which rose about a league distant. He descended to the mission site to find it watered by a single spring or water hole thirty or forty feet in diameter. From it, however, there was no flow, and he later found out that the tiny trickle from the spring of the neighboring mission was lost immediately in the hot rocks. This mission, his nearest contact with his confrères, he tells us, lay six hours' travel east. It was Dolores on the coast and was administered at the time by Father Schwartz. The latter had the thoughtfulness to send Baegert at his arrival a present of some wild grapes, pomegranates, and oranges.

But all of this was only the beginning of desolation. Had Baegert been a less sturdy individual and less practical he might have suffered heavy desolation of spirit and have needed to seek consolation and rest in the company of an older and neighboring missionary, such as had been the case with Pícolo when he first went to his mission of Cárichic in the Tarahumar country of the mainland.<sup>6</sup> But the strong-minded German seems to have undergone no such discouragement in spite of the desolation of the land he had come to, the hardships of his journey to San Luis, and the broken-down state of his mission which he saw when he arrived.

<sup>6</sup> Francisco María Pícolo served his missionary apprenticeship in Tarahumara. It is recorded of him that in the early days of his labors in Cárichic he suffered such great desolation and loneliness with a sense of frustration (for he could not understand the Indians, nor they him) that he went over to stay a few days with Francisco de Arteaga in his mission at Nonoava. Arteaga consoled the young Pícolo, said the same had happened to him when first he arrived among the wild Tarahumares, and that he too had gone to seek solace with a near-by and older padre. Cf. *Carta del P. Provincial Juan Antonio Balthassar, en que da noticia de la exemplar vida, religiosas virtudes, y apostólicos trabajos del fervoroso Misionero el Venerable P. Francisco María Pícolo*. Mexico, Dec. 23, 1752.

It appears, though we have no record of it, that Father Hostell, Baegert's predecessor, had vacated the mission some time before his successor's arrival, for this is what the latter saw: a small church which had recently fallen during a storm, an unplastered hut with thatched roof and two doors but no windows, another hut so lightless that Baegert called it a cave. The padre knew how far he was from any contact, not only with his fellow missionaries, but with any human beings. For thirty hours' travel north, reports the missionary, for fifty hours' south, no rational being was to be found. When he did see human beings they were his spiritual charges, the Indians of the Guaicura tribe, and he was not the least bit enthusiastic about them, neither about their appearance, their habits, or their qualities of mind or heart. He refers repeatedly to their very dark or almost black color, to their untidiness, their lack of all dependability, and their dirt. "They never wash," writes the padre, "except in urine, they never work except when one stands behind them with a stick, and they throw themselves down to sleep wherever night overtakes them." Once he refers to his charges as "black mouse-heads," and he avers: "It is positively true . . . that this handful of black unwashed people are human in nothing but shape and mind, or rather the only thing which distinguishes them from animals is that they have no horns." Such depreciation of his neophytes is but a prelude to what he wrote of them in his *Nachrichten* after his return to Europe.<sup>7</sup> Nor was this all. The missionary soon discovered that though the country inland was almost completely wanting in bird life, "except for a few turtle doves who sigh over California's misery," it swarmed with insects of all kinds, large and small, poisonous or

<sup>7</sup> Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels, 1890, I, 2, states that one of Baegert's purposes in composing the *Nachrichten* was to refute certain passages of Venegas's *Noticia de California*, which he probably considered too optimistic. Sommervogel cites the *Journal Encyclopedique*, 1773, t. II, pp. 531 et seq. Tall tales about Californian missionary wealth, luxury, and hidden treasure were circulating through the Bourbon courts of Europe when Baegert published his *Nachrichten* in 1772, when pressure was being brought upon Pope Clement XIV to follow the national suppressions in Portugal, France, and Spain by a papal suppression. This drastic step was taken by the Pope in 1773. But we think that in his letter of 1752, twenty years before the above events, it is probable that the missionary had no such purpose in mind, yet his letter is as derogatory of the country and its inhabitants as the writings later in the *Nachrichten*. The Alsatian was naturally pessimistic and arrogant. Stalwart Teuton that he was, he did not possess the more humane sympathies and the high spiritual enthusiasm of some of his Latin predecessors. Ursula Schaeffer in a brief study of the *Nachrichten*, *MID-AMERICA*, XX (July, 1938) 151-163, agrees with the *Journal Encyclopedique*, and it is true that the second appendix of Baegert's work refutes with severity what the author considers the errors of his Jesuit predecessor Venegas concerning California.

harmless, as the case might be, and with reptiles of a wide variety both as to size and menace. Rats, mice, toads, and other nuisances came to pester him right in his abode. Once a horned toad dropped down upon him from the ceiling of his hut. He gave it no name, but he describes it accurately and says it was not a lizard. Mice ran around his room and walls even in broad daylight and they nearly chewed his covers to bits. Bats paid him a visit from time to time, and a black snake, said by the natives to be the most poisonous of all, slithered into his dwelling. Once while eating at table he discovered a centipede crawling on his shoulder; another time he found one such beast slumbering between the covers of his bed. Every day after sunset he had one of his Indian boys try to keep the toads from entering his room. But "they hop about everywhere," says he, and they got in regardless. "*Dis ist ja sehr lustig, nicht wahr!*" (This is right merry, is it not!) Scorpions were his visitors too, and he even had as guests from time to time a gigantic and horrifying type of insect, the bristling and dangerous tarantula. These called on Baegert and they were to be encountered outside by the thousands. The padre swears the beast had hair as thick as a camel's.

All of this and more within his first sixteen months of residence is what the psychologically stalwart Alsatian found in the interior of the rock-ridden peninsula, yet never a whimper about himself, only disgust, apparently, with his charges, the native Californians. Indeed towards the end of this letter to his Capuchin brother in Schlettstadt he says that not once has he regretted coming to this wasted spot of earth "and I do not see how I could regret it, I live so happily." He adds that since he left Bouquenon in Lorraine he had not been "sick for an hour, nor sad for a minute." No attack of nostalgia seems to have troubled him, nor was he curious about what was going on in Europe. Five soldiers were resident at the mission, he informs his brother. If these had their families the place was livened a bit.

With characteristic energy and practicality the missionary set to work refitting his dingy and delapidated quarters. He chose one of the two huts, the one he described as a darksome cave, for his dwelling and proceeded, doubtless with the aid of the soldiers and a few Indians, to render it lightsome and habitable. He knocked two windows into its sides, covered the skeleton of the roof with home-made tiles, rough-cast the inner walls (there was lime in the vicinity), and whitewashed the exterior. He whitewashed the in-

side of his bedroom too and covered the floor with flagstones found in the district. To be serviceable all they needed was shaping and smoothing. The windows had no glass, of course, for even in the mainland this luxury was absent from the outlying mission districts, which explains the presence in his apartments of the odd or dangerous visitors who sometimes wandered in.

The padre and his guard must subsist too. Therefore it might be good to try to wring some produce from the hard and stubborn soil. He managed, by what means he does not describe, to draw a stream from the mission spring or water-hole and to have it flow through a conduit upon a tiny plot which he would create into a truck garden. Soon he was planting turnips, cabbage, melons, including the watermelon, and came to raising a little patch of sugarcane.

The September after his arrival he sowed wheat and corn. Because of the almost continuous warmth of the climate it was possible under favorable circumstances to gather in two harvests of corn a year. Wheat will ripen in January, grapes in July. But during Baegert's first year times were not good. The soil was salty, says he, and there was no rain, while the supply of water from the spring was very slight. Therefore he "scraped together a very meager harvest." Nor did his truck garden with its vegetables and melons do well.

Nature intervened, however, to lighten the missionary's burden. Among the inexhaustible varieties of Lower California cactus was the fruit-bearing *pitahaya*, which produces the prickly-pear. There were two varieties of such on the mission lands, and Baegert describes both minutely. After telling of one species he writes: "On these crazy plants grows a fruit which is also green and has no end of small prickles on the outside skin, which is about the size of a hen's egg. If you take off the thorns and open the shell a round fruit rolls out. Sometimes it is bright red, sometimes dark red, but it is full of black seeds like poppy seeds. Its quality is acrid and cannot be surpassed by any European fruit I know of." This ripens in November or December. But the favorite of the Indians, and of the padre too, it seems, was the sweet variety of prickly-pear which begins to ripen in June, whose season lasted for about two months. The trunk of this cactus is higher than the other, says he, and "as thick as my arm or head and forked from top to bottom. .... On the sides of the forks a million thorns appear in high relief." The fruit is one half the size of that just described, but "it

is sweet and either white or red." This ripened fruit the Indians called *acubia*, which in their language also signified year or era, for they measured time from one season of the ripened *acubia* to the other. It was then that the Indians lived well and filled themselves up with the fruit while the season lasted. "O what a blissful time it is!" exclaims the missionary. "The poor Indian thinks that then paradise with all its joys, the paradise we preach to him about, has moved to California."

Our Baegert, like his Indians, enjoyed these two varieties of prickly-pear. "For myself I make the most of these two kinds of fruit. I pour wine over them on a china plate and pretend that I am eating strawberries or something even better in my own dear country." In the padre's narrow dining-room this fruit seasoned with wine doubtless made a fine dessert for his usual meal of goat's meat savored with drippings of animal fat, which was served up to him upon a platter of "Canton porcelain" as he sat at a cedar table.

The padre here, with characteristic realism, describes a habit of his neophytes connected with the more tart variety of cactus fruit which he had described as of dark red in its edible fruit and full of black seeds like those of the poppy. These poor children of the wild, the missionary's shaggy parishioners, went through this annual custom: After gorging themselves with the fruit they saved their human excrement and allowed it to dry. Then with infinite pains they picked from the caked mass the minute seeds which had not been digested and when they had got a sufficient number they mashed them in water and made a paste or porridge. This noisome concoction they again devoured as an exceptional delicacy. The Spanish soldiers resident in the peninsula knew of this Indian custom and made a joke of the practice, calling it in rather pungent humor the *secunda cosecha*, or the second harvest. Baegert after describing the practice exclaims: "Oh, what a nation this is, miserable and indescribable beyond compare!"<sup>8</sup>

The Black Robe describes also the well-known but bizarre giant cactus of Mexico and the southwest United States, called by Mexicans the *saguaro* or *cardón*. Baegert says accurately that it raises from the ground like a veritable pillar or beam in its thickness and height. "The prickly shell [of its fruit] is as yellow as gold, but

<sup>8</sup> This portion of the letter Baegert had written in Latin. Other Latin passages the editors of the *Patriotischen Elsasser* put into German, but this they dared not, saying: "... we did not venture to translate this passage, for truthfully we did not know how to do it with decency and yet with sufficient clearness."



the fruit [itself] is a rich red." More modern observers of the peninsula have marked the odd habits of this thorny pillar rising straight from the ground to a height of forty or fifty feet. From its main shaft other smaller branches spring and curve upwards. In the joints or in holes the fish-hawk often makes its nest. Another type of cactus, which made up the chief food of the Indians, is for the amateur more difficult to identify from the padre's description. "It has a long rounded top," he writes, "the leaves and branches are from one-half a yard to one yard long, narrowing towards the end into a dark brown spike. On both sides of the leaves at the extreme ends are funny little thorns and prickles." The Indians took fibre from this cactus, but its top they baked for twenty-four hours, partly in fire and partly in hot ashes or between hot stones. This "is the staple food of the Indian. It is quite good to eat. Sometimes the Indians give me a piece and I eat it with much pleasure when I cannot get any other fruit." Baegert called this plant *messiale*, the Indians *kenei*. When it ripens the Indians chew it and "suck the juice out, as the people of Bamberg do with licorice. What the grown-ups spit out is picked up by the children who suck it over again." These Indians, adds the padre, "can even digest earth, the thin kind of earth which is found where a swamp is drying up."

The new-comer to Lower California had good luck with his little patch of sugar-cane. The latter, he wrote his brother in September (1752), had yielded the past February sixteen hundredweight of brown or unrefined sugar, and, as each hundredweight brought in sixteen pesos (the writer calls them florins) on the Mexican market, the thrifty padre realized the mite of an income from his microscopic plantation, namely, 256 pesos.

From the disposition of the mission's sugar-cane the modern reader can learn something of the economy of mission San Luis Gonzaga and of the other establishments. At Loreto, the coastal mission center and port of entry, a storehouse of provisions of various kinds was in charge of two Jesuit brothers "who calculate and distribute the pay of the soldiers and sailors all through the year." The barter system prevailed during these primitive times and therefore pay was in kind. So Baegert transported this the produce of the first crop of his sugar-cane to Loreto and there received provisions equivalent to the value of his sixteen hundredweight of brown sugar in goods which were valued at 256 pesos. These provisions he carried back to his mission and made it over to his four cowboys, or cowherds as he calls them, as a portion of their yearly pay. Their

full salary was 340 pesos a year. As the cattle often wandered a thirty hours' journey from the mission, each cowboy must be mounted. The Indians would do this work free of charge, says the padre, but they are unfit for this responsibility. The poor natives seem to have been good for not much. But if the soldiers and sailors engaged in California were smart, trade with the Indians, as everywhere else in colonial America, could have brought in a profit of a thousand per cent, because, states the padre, the men will give a dozen skins for a pair of pants which is worn to shreds in a month.

To continue with the economic conditions, the sixty soldiers resident in the peninsula for the protection of the fathers were paid by the King a salary of eight hundred pesos yearly, and for the expense thus put upon the royal exchequer the Black Robe thinks there was not much return. He praises Their Catholic Majesties for their generosity of supporting the two presidios of California, each with a quota of thirty soldiers most of whom were scattered among the various mission centers. "If the money which California has cost the King from the beginning, as well as the endowment and interest [of the Pious Fund]," writes the missionary, "were divided among the families living in California, they and their descendants could become knights of the Holy Roman Empire and drive about in carriages in the Watterau. Happiness and long life to Ferdinand VI, and to Philip of Anjou eternal rest!" But the severe Baegert does not think highly of the presidial soldiers. In sarcasm he refers to them as warriors, and then adds that they are "really nothing more than patrols. Twelve French carabinieri could make mince-meat of them." True, a silver mine had been discovered a few years before his arrival, but its yield was slight.<sup>9</sup>

The missionaries in Lower California (thirteen in 1752 distributed among twelve missions) were supported from the income of the landed property bequeathed the missions and which is known in history as the Pious Fund. Whereas the court of Madrid supported the missionaries of the mainland by a yearly salary of five hundred pesos, the California fathers had to rely solely on their own produce and upon the income of the Pious Fund. The latter used to be two thousand a year, says Baegert, but at his time it had dropped to only eight hundred for each mission. Produce of the missions was sold in Mexico by the Jesuit "procurator" and with the revenue thus realized goods were bought in Mexico's capital and carried to

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<sup>9</sup> The mine was called Real de San Antonio and lay thirty-five miles south of La Paz.

California. Each year a long mule-train trudged slowly out of Mexico City, carrying cloth, linen, tobacco, and all other necessary or useful articles and provisions for the Lower California missions. Provision of food was gathered on the coast, and Matanchel was the ordinary port of embarkation. Although every nook and cranny of the meager California soil was cultivated a sufficient amount of corn, wheat, and beans could not be raised to support the sixty soldiers of the mission guard, their families, and the other help or servants of the mission—the sailors, the cowboys, Indians who sometimes worked for a wage, and the sick. Therefore, transport boats crossed the gulf several times each year to buy and carry back to the peninsula about one thousand sacks of grain, meat, and sugar. Horses and mules also made part of the cargo.<sup>10</sup>

We gather thus that Baegert's establishment had animals. Indeed a small herd ranged on the stony slopes and sandy arroyos of mission San Luis Gonzaga, and the letter which the padre wrote his brother offers good details concerning it. San Luis possessed at the missionary's arrival a herd of four hundred goats and sheep and seven hundred cows, and we gather indirectly that there were horses and mules. The cowboys had plenty of work with the larger animals. Though the sheep and goats were often kept in corrals, the cattle would wander sometimes a thirty hours' journey from the mission. Baegert was astounded at the manner in which the animals had accommodated themselves to the sparse and prickly vegetation of cactus-ridden California. They would consume a thorny cactus as if it were a burrless morsel of luscious hay and they would devour thorns which were half the size of a human finger and so hard and brittle that they would splinter like glass.

The climate was hard on the animals, however. During the course of his first year's residence the padre had to turn his goats and sheep three times into new pastures, yet so scanty was the feed that the animals perished by the dozens. For two months Baegert lived on milk porridge, for the animals were collapsing from exhaustion and

<sup>10</sup> However, the more interested Bourbon kings, beginning with Philip V in 1701, came to the aid of the missions from time to time by extraordinary disbursements. For instance, in 1717, the year of Salvatierra's death, the Viceregal Government paid out 5,888 to cover Salvatierra's last and lethal journey to Guadalajara, his litter and doctor bills, and some debts he had contracted in the interest of the missions. In 1718 the Government paid 4,000 pesos for the purchase of a new boat for California needs, two years later 3,509 for another craft, and in 1723 the Viceroy stood the expenses of the careening and refitting of still another California transport which had been mauled by a storm. Cf. Official Records, *Californias*, años Guaicura language is given. The following examples are taken both from the *Nachrichten* and from the letter of 1752.

the cattle and horses were often in danger of death from lack of fodder and drink. Nevertheless, the herds were maintained in spite of all difficulties during Baegert's earlier years, for meat was necessary for better human sustenance, especially for the sick.

When the missionary went on sick calls he always carried some fresh meat with him and a flask of fresh water to resuscitate the energies of those who were ill. For such occasions he had a fine horse and he enjoyed the saddle. It was Baegert's predecessor, the German Lambert Hostell of Munster, who began the breeding of animals. This became necessary because the income accruing from the Jesuit estates of the mainland, namely, the foundations of the Pious Fund, had declined, as we have seen. The cows, too, furnished butter in some of the other missions, but not in San Luis. Evidently here the practical Alsatian met his Waterloo, for he says that nobody knew how to make butter and nobody cared whether he had it or not. But the time came when Baegert felt he had to allow his herds to dwindle and disappear. Depredations by Indians, both of his mission and of others, began to take constant toll of the animals and this, plus the other difficulties of maintaining them, led Baegert after eight years' residence to the decision of allowing the animals to die out.<sup>11</sup>

Our padre during the first sixteen months' residence among his neophytes had already attained a good knowledge of their language, nor was it hard, for their words were few. Twenty years later back in Europe he goes into interesting detail about the traits or lack of traits of the native tongue.<sup>12</sup> In the *Nachrichten* he states with some sarcasm: "It is easy to imagine what kind of mellifluous language, rich in words and abounding in sonorous phrases, can be spoken by a people who have no political organization, no religion, no idea of authority or law; who live without honor and without shame and without clothing or habitation . . ." Therefore, Baegert writes his brother, they have no abstract words, none which pertain to social or civic life. They lack all numbers from six to ten and beyond, so that "nobody knows how many fingers he has on both hands together, much less how old he is." They have no relative conjunctions; no words like "that," "but," "if," "then." Much less can they express or grasp any figurative language. Therefore when the missionary put the Christian prayer, the Angelical Salutation, commonly

<sup>11</sup> *Nachrichten*, III, ch. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Nachrichten*, II, ch. 10, where a most interesting description of the 1717 ff. Photostatic copies in the Bolton Collection.



called the "Hail Mary," into their tongue he shortened the words "fruit of thy womb" to the simple "your child."

In the *Nachrichten* we find amusing instances of how these poor people showed themselves apt at coining words for things they had never seen until the missionary came among them. They called bread "light," iron "heavy," a gun they called a bow, and the name they gave to cattle was deer. A Spanish captain was the savage or the cruel one. Since they had no comparative form for adjectives, if they wanted to say "John is taller than Johnnie" they put it this way: "Johnnie is small and only John is big." In many instances concerning the teaching of the Christian doctrine it was necessary in order to avoid clumsy circumlocutions to use a word taken from the Spanish. The verb organization was only for the past, present, and future of the indicative mood and there was wanting a passive voice. In short, writes the padre, they have a language with only three dozen words in it. "If foxes could talk they would use far more words and phrases than the Californians do."

It will not seem surprising then that the industrious German missionary by the time he wrote his intriguing letter had during the sixteen months from his arrival translated the Christian doctrine into the Guaicura tongue almost without help. He compressed the Christian doctrine into thirty-five articles which covered five sheets of paper. In the *Nachrichten* Baegert offers the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed as spoken in the native language, explaining that many Spanish words had to be inserted to fill up what could not be expressed in Guaicura. He mentions twenty-five Spanish words which were a necessary addition to the native language if civilized and Christian ideas were to be expressed. Among these were the following: God, holy, church, spirit; bread, cross, virgin and lord. Baegert offers too an example of the meager conjugation of the verb.

In this thin and threadbare Guaicura tongue instruction was constantly going on. Insistent repetition of the prayers and of the Christian doctrine was necessary, explains the missionary to his brother, lest the natives forget everything, for they were mentally indolent. "Some did not have good will and could have learned better if they would." As was quite usual in the Lower California missions, and throughout the mission system generally, the natives were trained after their first conversion and baptism to come in periodically to the mission center from their outlying villages or *rancherías*.

We have mentioned the three groups of north, east, and west



respectively, whom Baegert cared for spiritually. Each group, he says, was divided into several tribes. The three larger divisions came into the mission in turns and rotation, so that each one visited San Luis and its padre every three or four weeks. One group arrived with bag and baggage and camped for about a week at San Luis. When this departed another came and so the routine went on. The order of the day was simple enough. Mass was celebrated the first thing in the morning. After the ceremony and still within the church the padre led his neophytes in the recitation from memory of the main points of the Christian doctrine and he followed this up by an explanation of some particular truth which he chose for the instruction of that day. Once out of church the Indians made for the hills and the arroyos in their perennial quest for food. At sundown they returned to their camp at the mission and had another repetition of the Christian doctrine. If some wanted to work, the padre had chores for them and would pay them in food. For this purpose ground corn mixed with water, the classical *pozole*, was cooked in a large caldron. No salt was used and (Baegert's frequent remark) it was full of dirt. But to the shaggy Lower Californian this porridge was a luxury nevertheless, and those who had worked received at the day's end their portion, one-half a *sester*. Some received their portion in a turtle shell which was uncleansed and may have just been put to such menial tasks as the carrying of manure. Those who have a turtle shell are the wealthy ones, usually from the west coast, who lived well on the fish they caught. Some received their *pozole* in a cow's horn. Others had nothing in which to take their pay, and so would wait until their more fortunate tribesmen had finished and would then borrow from them the container.

Our missionary is as pessimistic concerning the religion and salvation of his neophytes as he is about other matters. He tells his brother that he differs from the opinion of many that there are no people on the globe who are completely bereft of the idea of a supreme being. He holds there are such people and he avers that they exist right here in California. The point is demonstrated to Baegert's satisfaction by the native's lack of intelligence and by his manner of life, "which dispenses entirely from thought except as to eating and women." "If one explains to them a hundred or a thousand times the truths necessary for salvation and then asks for a repetition either they fail entirely or the repetition is mechanical and from mere memory, for they feel nothing in their hearts, nor is there any good effect or change for the better to be noted in their habits." There-

fore the padre's spirit was heavy for he doubted seriously the possibility of their ultimate salvation since they could not grasp the basic truths of Christianity.

There was great difficulty, too, in administering to them the sacraments. "Nevertheless, if they would only refrain from adultery and other worse crimes I would put no difficulty in the way of admitting them to Holy Communion." That Baegert did not change this, his opinion, during the following fifteen years of his residence at San Luis is made clear by statements in the *Nachrichten*.<sup>13</sup> However, he thanks God his neophytes are not given to drink, for they do not know how to make intoxicating liquor. For all Baegert's critical attitude he tells his brother that the native vices were not many, being limited to child murder and to sexual disorders. Later he discovered that they were stealing his animals so that in the *Nachrichten* he put the natives down as thieves too.

Baegert was spared, at least during the early months of his residence in San Luis, the agonies of the plague's visitation to his scattered flock. He says his neophytes were nearly always well and so there was little occasion for the visitation of the sick. Therefore those scourges of the mission neophyte, measles and small-pox (*viruelas y sarampión*), which quite generally decimated his numbers did not visit San Luis at least during Baegert's early residence. But there was some illness and there were times when a visit to a sick Indian became imperative. On such occasions the padre would take some biscuit, tortillas, and meat for the sick person and some fresh water in a flask. He would mount his fine horse and off he would go. Thus he writes: "If the distance is so great that I must sleep by the way I lie down on the ground like the Indians . . . and arise in the morning without having been bitten by snake, scorpion, or tarantula. I have done this many times and have rested well, thank God. I have a good horse and do not mind riding, even though I may have to do twenty hours or more in a day and a half and even though the inns by the way are poorly kept." Indeed, epidemic seems never to have visited San Luis, for in the *Nachrichten* he repeats the statement as to the Indians' general good state of health and he enumerates a variety of ills, common in Europe, such as the gout, apoplexy, dropsy, chills, and typhoid, that were unheard of among his natives of Lower California. From tuberculosis and syphilis, however, his charges suffered.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. part II, ch. 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, ch. 7.

The padre enjoyed a modest library in his isolated residence. Seventy-eight volumes, large and small, were on its shelves. Almost all of the books had to do with the spiritual life, and forty-six were in French. This reminds Baegert again to ask for additional works. "I received your letter of 1751, but no books." He now expresses the wish that Father López, the procurator for the missions, would send to him the works of Huet, the Bishop of Avranches, and the writings of some new French historians, such as those of Bossuet. He wants poetry too, and tragedy and comedy. "They help to cheer one up in such a wilderness." He asks for news too of the intellectual world of Europe, of how church matters were faring, and of theological developments, of Jansenism.

Although his mission was far from the tip of the peninsula where in the harborage of San Bartolomé the galleons from Manila used to put in from time to time, he seems to have profited by these visits. He mentions the Manila ships and a bit of luxurious cargo they carried to California all the way from China. This luxury was Chinese ink which came in the form of small tablets as long as one's finger and as thick as the back of a knife blade. The tablets "are packed in beautiful little boxes lined with silk and decorated with different letters and figures. Are not these charming people!" The modern reader supposes the tablets were dissolved in water to furnish the ink. One of these boxes evidently found its way to mission San Luis Gonzaga.

Baegert does not tell his brother a great deal about his personal habits. As it was usually warm at his post he often perspired through his camel's hair soutane. Though he departed from Loreto to his mission in company of one soldier and a few Indians, as we have mentioned, he says that five soldiers resided in San Luis with him. He would say his Mass every morning when he was at home, but in answer to a question from his brother he informs us that when he goes off on the more distant journeys he does not celebrate the Holy Sacrifice. He had wine at the mission. This he needed for his Mass, and there is some humor in the fact that he informs us his Indians, not possessing a name for it in their language, coined one, naming the beverage "bad water." He informs his brother in two different places that (outside of Mass) he lets weeks go by without drinking any wine, and this not from a spirit of detachment or abnegation, but simply because he prefers to drink water. And he writes: "Some California wine is almost as good as Hattenburg or Burgundy. For the rest, I take a few drops of brandy with

my meals and smoke a pipe afterwards because it is the custom." There are few Germans in California, he says, in answer to another question, for there is only water to drink. So, in the attempt at a bit of humor, he gets himself into a contradiction. At the season of the ripened prickly-pear he used wine more often, for we have seen that he liked this fruit and used it at his meals with wine poured over it.

Towards the end of his lengthy epistle and before sending his love to his family, "to mother, brothers and sisters," he answers still another question posed by his brother, and he moralizes on the work being accomplished in the missions of Lower California and on the advisability of wishing to travel as missionary to this isolated region of the globe.

Evidently Baegert's Capuchin brother had posed this question: If the Indians are so few, so helpless and unwarlike, why cannot they all be grouped together within a defined region and be cared for by fewer missionaries protected by fewer soldiers? The missionary offers four reasons why this is impossible. One is linguistic, the division of language. There are, says the Jesuit, more than twelve languages or dialects among the five or six thousand people cared for in these California missions. There would be utter confusion, therefore, in bringing them together. Another reason is economic, the utter nudity of the land. In order to live at all the inhabitants must be scattered, for California's sandy deserts and lava-strewn hills and precipitous mountains of solid rock could never support a concentrated population. Still a third is social. Some of the tribes are deadly enemies and would never consent to any common regime. The last reason is psychological and had been remarked on by the missionaries from the beginning. The Indian was essentially attached to the spot of earth upon which he had dropped at birth. He would seldom wander more than a day's journey from the arroyo, the mountain slope, or the parched patch of desert upon which he had first seen the light of day. Did war or some other necessity require such wandering the native seemed to suffer an intolerable nostalgia until he had returned to the familiar contour of the forbidding earth where he had come to his first conscious impressions. It is true that Christianity here as elsewhere had reduced in certain sections the particularized enmity and divisions which atomized these poor people into microscopic groups. Nevertheless, the larger divisions and many inveterate aversions continued to split up the meager population with its inherited hatreds,

its fears, and its superstitions. Therefore many missionaries were used up in tending a handful of human beings scattered about in this rocky cactus patch, sixty soldiers were employed for protection of the mission stations, and income from the royal fisc must needs flow into the arid land of Lower California if the peninsula were to be held for Spain, offer safe harborage for the Manila galleons, and in time act as a springboard for the advance north into more attractive coastal regions.

What made the expense of monies and of energy relatively more costly was the fact of diminishing returns, for the Indian population was constantly on the decline. War (inter-tribal and the suppression of rebellion), plague, the diseases brought by the Europeans, endemic syphilis, slight birthrate upon a harsh land amidst filthy and barbarous habits, all converged to effect a constant decline of the Indian population of Lower California as it had done almost universally wherever the European had set his foot upon the Western Hemisphere.<sup>15</sup> Baegert confirms the almost universal testimony. In speaking of a recent rebellion of the southern and unruly Pericúes, whose first uprising was in 1734 when they slew Carranco and Tamaral, the missionary of San Luis informs his brother that this nation has been reduced in numbers by disease and arms from three thousand to four hundred.

Father Baegert answers still another question which he suspects may arise in his brother's mind. "You may ask," says he, "since one hundred soldiers can tackle half a million Indians why this handful of black mouse-heads has not been tamed . . . . Though most blacks tremble even before an unloaded gun or an unsheathed sword, they will not come out in the open and fight, but remain spread among their hills and along their valleys so that by the time we gather in the soldiers (the distances are great and the roads are difficult) the rebels have accomplished their purposes." Another impediment to the soldiery was the commissary which had to accompany them, whereas the Indian was fleet and foot-loose. The Spanish armed force, which would be of forty or fifty men, would often take along with them one thousand animals as extra mounts and pack-animals both of food and water.

This lengthy missive winds up with disabusing comfortable

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Francisco A. Flores, *Historia de la Medicina en México desde la Época de los Indios hasta la Presente*, Mexico, 1886-1888, I, 112 ff.; S. F. Cook, *The Extent and Significance of Disease among the Indians of Baja California, 1767-1773*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, p. 28. See also Peter Masten Dunne, "The Record Book of a Lower California Mission" *MID-AMERICA*, XXIX (July 1947), 193.



Europeans once again as to the condition of mission life and at the same time (a common missionary practice) with encouraging his Jesuit brethren in continental Europe to come out West and be participants of so good and constructive a work.

People may think, writes Baegert, that

when one comes to an old established mission one finds the people living properly together in huts, in domesticated fashion, and well settled; wearing clothes, looking after their farm lands, and engaged in other necessary occupation. [Europeans may think that] one can hold regular religious services, hear confessions on Saturday and Sunday, distribute Holy Communion, and sing vespers and the Salve—and thereafter be able to enjoy pleasant leisure. Or they think that when one is ordered to start a new mission one can develop a market town in a few years. And yet, how terribly these people are deceived, for who in Europe would expect to find a country on the globe similar to our California. . . . [For the missionary in California] egotism languishes from want of nourishment, the five senses are denied or held in check, a man must renounce honor, interest, taste, and social converse . . . If I give one of [my Indians] half an ox he would, regardless, spit at the freshly whitened wall . . . and would then make off as if a dog had bitten him. Such politicians are my neighbors.

But the newly arrived missionary states his happiness in clear terms as we have indicated above, and no breath of loneliness or nostalgia seems to have fallen upon him. "Many in Europe sow much, but reap little," says the padre, implying that the hardships of mission life are worth the game, for in spite of all difficulties and discouragements a harvest is to be gathered in. "Let no one be prevented by all [these hardships] from accepting an American mission. Though the Indians be few they must not be left helpless to their devices. The poorer a race and the more helpless a country it lives in, the more deserving it is of pity and the more worth troubling about. Let them not be left to fall from the frying pan into the fire and from a temporal let them not drop into an eternal hell."

Thus at the end of his letter the Alsatian, Johann Jakob Baegert, allows to emerge from under a covering of arrogant severity the true heart of the missionary. In spite of the formerly emitted severe strictures and sharp or even carping criticisms of his barbarous charges, his sympathies were for them, while his intelligence demanded their Christian instruction and their eternal salvation. He seems to have led a most contented existence; his inner spirit seemed to have been lit with a warm and glowing light, for we recall his words earlier recorded, that he "had not been sad for a moment." And he added that "health is necessary and melancholy is of no use especially in such a wilderness." After putting some limitations on

his averred indifference concerning what was going on in Europe (for he wanted to know about Church matters, and Jansenism, and theology) he makes this pregnant statement: "If there is good news I shall hear it eventually even in this distant corner of the world, while bad news always comes too soon."

Baegert continued on for fifteen years at San Luis Gonzaga after he wrote this letter of 1752. Like his great predecessor Ugarte and like his contemporary Consag he explored the country, making several expeditions to the West Coast in search of mission sites, harborage for the Manila ships, or simply in search of other peoples to gather into the fold of the Church. Our padre was still at San Luis in the February of 1768 when word came to him sent by his Jesuit superior, Benno Ducru, that he must pack up immediately and come over the pass of the "Giantess" to Loreto. This was the effect of the decree of King Carlos III issued the previous year which expelled the Jesuits from all his domains. For Lower California Don Gaspar de Portolá, famed discoverer of San Francisco Bay, had been appointed to carry out the desolating details of the royal decree.

Sixteen years had attached the missionary to his post; to leave it forever was a rude wrench to his spirit. Several years later back in his native Alsace he confessed to his deep emotion. "I wept not only then but throughout the journey; and even now as I write tears fill my eyes."<sup>16</sup> The man with a heart becomes emotionally attached to those weaker than himself for whose betterment from high moral or spiritual motivation he has given his labor and his sweat. Baegert thus fits well into a familiar human pattern.

Though Baegert, a stalwart and somewhat arrogant German type, did not possess the supernatural ardor, the optimistic zeal, and the human sympathies of some of his Latin predecessors in the peninsula (Salvatierra and Pícolo come immediately to mind) his heart was with his poor dusky children of the wild among whom he had labored, for whom he had sacrificed, and towards whom he tried to be an instrument of eternal salvation. Baegert as a normal human being reacted as such and, from the evidence of his letter, became attached to those for whom he labored, among whom he worked, and whose cares and illnesses he attended to. The very degradation and helplessness of his charges would arouse a certain humane attitude nicely colored by pity looking towards a betterment of their condition. Therefore he returned to comfortable Europe with a

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<sup>16</sup> *Nachrichten*, III, ch. 10.

broken heart. He regaled his family and friends with stories of that far distant and mysterious land sitting on the rim of the world. He delighted and instructed those close to him with specimens of the flora and fauna of California, of varieties of cactus, of the Big Horn, of the beads and feathers used by the natives. Then four years later he published a book about it all, the oft herein cited *Nachrichten*. But the wound to his spirit, from what he says, never healed. Like missionaries of every age and the world over he had become attached to his people and knowing no nostalgia at his departure from Europe, he knew it at his return, nostalgia for rock-ridden and cactus-plagued Lower California, nostalgia for the degraded people for whose improvement, material and spiritual, he had devoted his days.

Our Lower California missionary died in the December of the very year the *Nachrichten* was published, 1772. Fortunate, perhaps, too it was for his already wounded soul, because the following year, 1773, Pope Clement XIV signed the fateful decree suppressing the Society of Jesus as a religious order of the Church. Jakob Baegert was spared the ultimate frustration of his most cherished sympathies.

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## Book Review

*Pioneer Days in Idaho County.* By Sister M. Alfreda Elsensohn, Volume I, Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1947, Pp. xx, 527.

*Pioneer Days in Idaho County* has a much wider scope than its title indicates. An exact descriptive title would read, "The Past and Present History of Idaho County in the State of Idaho." The book in its present form is a mine of information of all kinds, good, bad, indifferent, and irrelevant. Nevertheless, future researchers in this field will have to consult this book, but only with caution and further verification.

The range of the book is encyclopedic. Every settlement, village, town and city of Idaho county receives mention in direct ratio to the available written and oral sources. A truly impressive collection of data regarding names and places and every phase of life is here published. Exploration and settlement, growth and exploitation, mining and farming, stage-coaches and trade are treated. Lengthy quotations from contemporary records and from early newspapers, on occasion, tell the story in picturesque language. Precise facts concerning the various gold rushes constitute one of the better portions of the book. However, no topic is ignored. In fact, one can say with perfect honesty that this first of two volumes is simultaneously a report on Idaho county's history, geology, industry, horticulture, commerce, agriculture and mining.

Without any doubt, *Pioneer Days in Idaho County* represents persistent research by an intensely interested student. Unfortunately, the fruit of this labor is presented in a form little calculated to attract anyone except a confirmed booster of the county or the scholar quite hardened to gleaning knowledge under trying circumstances. The author shows uncritical use of secondary material and insufficient discrimination in her use of source material. To cite notes on sheriff's office stationery (page 1) with apparently the same approbation as contemporary eye-witness accounts (page 40) hardly conforms to common-sense practice of historical criticism. Extensive quotations from similar documents or rather commonplace records detract considerably from the book's readableness. In many instances a simple paraphrasing of a document or old newspaper account would improve the literary style perceptibly. Old newspaper files and personal interviews constitute the principal sources of the book, but unskilled use of them mars the entire work. A definite impression is given that *Pioneer Days in Idaho County* is a very fine set of notes composed with scissors and a paste pot. Evidences of this scrap-book tone are many. A serious piece of research is cluttered-up with uninteresting minutiae. We read, for instance, that Polly Bemis made a crocheted cap that was highly prized by the Irwin family (page 97); or again, that a gun "probably lost during the Indian War" was found by August Seubert of Cottonwood and given to the museum at St. Gertrude's Academy (page 296).

The general division of the book into chapters and partial chapters on each settlement is perfectly reasonable. In executing the plan the author

has done much repetitious writing. For example, in narrating the "battle of Cottonwood," July 5, 1877, during the Indian uprisings, Sister Alfreda gives six separate accounts written by contemporaries or participants (pp. 304-312). There is practically no attempt made to collate the accounts or to compose one connected story from them. Such unrestrained eclecticism has resulted in an uncritical *mélange* of fact and hearsay which seriously circumscribes the admitted usefulness of the work in more scholarly circles.

Excellent maps and illustrations enhance the value of the book. The index is good but not nearly comprehensive enough for the amount of factual material printed in the book. Caxton Printers, Ltd., deserve a special word of commendation for a well printed book.  
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## Notes and Comments

Professor Charles Wilson Hackett has completed the monumental task to which he set himself in 1931. The fourth and last volume of his English translation of *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* appeared in 1947 although its publication date is 1946. Scholars are well acquainted with the meticulous care taken by Drs. Hackett and Charmion Clair Selby in translating Father Pichardo's work. They know too of Dr. Hackett's judicious annotations from the preceding three volumes published in 1931, 1934, and 1941. What compliments he and the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Texas, his sponsors, have received in reviews for the earlier volumes may well be repeated with respect to this concluding volume.

The work itself is highly important for the historians of our southwest, chiefly because of the exhaustive labor of Father Pichardo. When the United States purchased Louisiana with its indefinite boundaries Thomas Jefferson laid claim to the Texas lands even to the Rio Grande. Spain designated Pichardo to head a commission to find out the boundaries of her provinces of Texas and Louisiana. The investigation required four years and resulted in 1812 in a report to the Spanish authorities written in about a million words under the heading: "An argumentative historical treatise with reference to the verification of the true limits of the Provinces of Louisiana and Texas: Written by Father José Antonio Pichardo, of the Congregation of the Oratory of San Felipe Neri, to disprove the claim of the United States that Texas was included in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803."

For the vast amount of factual data gathered by Pichardo and the fine editing by Dr. Hackett this set should be in every library pretending to offer materials for research. In acquiring the volumes no librarian need sooth his or her conscience with the excuse that they are being obtained for some "hypothetical reader" of the vague future. It will become necessary for students to utilize the documents within this treatise.

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Clinton N. Howard of the Department of History of the University of California at Los Angeles has brought out the results of his studies under the title *The British Development of West Florida*

1763-1769. This is Volume 34 of University of California Publications in History, published by the University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947. The text consists of six chapters concisely written in forty-seven pages with stress on the establishment of the West Florida governmental and economic institutions and the problems arising out of their conduct for the governor and the council of administrators. It is a solid work. The last three-fourths of the volume contains appendixes of a documentary nature, notes, and bibliography. The editing and printing of the charts of the land grants and the letters is an illustration of a very difficult task carefully carried out.

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*America's Williamsburg*, published by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., of Williamsburg, Virginia, is a remarkable pictorial brochure, explaining "how and why the historic capital of Virginia, oldest and largest of England's thirteen American colonies, has been restored to its Eighteenth Century appearance by John D. Rockefeller, Jr." The text is by Gerald Horton Bath. Undoubtedly thousands of people will visit this restored city and will absorb a lasting impression of colonial times and manners according to the wishes of those who have made a monument to history. Accompanying the brochure is a card facsimile of the Virginia Bill of Rights adopted June 12, 1776.

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From St. Paul, Kansas, comes an elaborate brochure, *Osage Mission*, edited by Mary Joyce and dedicated to the Osage Indians and the Jesuit missionaries who established the mission. As a centennial celebration number should be, this is profusely illustrated with photostats and photographs. After the first section on the history of the Osage Mission, which is chiefly an abridgment from Father Gilber J. Garraghan's *Jesuits in the Middle United States*, the pages turn to the history of St. Paul, especially in its educational and religious aspects, although prominence is given to the political and business leaders and to the native sons who have acquired fame in other localities. All in all, the brochure shapes up as a fine historical record.

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*The Grassland of North America, Prolegomena to its History*, by James C. Malin, appeared late in 1947. It is lithotyped from the author's typescript and distributed by the author from 1541 University Drive, Lawrence, Kansas. It is in reality not a continuation of

the author's earlier volume, *Essays on Historiography*, but rather a part or division of his work arranged thus in two volumes for convenience. The author is not concerned at present with the formal history of the Grassland, or Trans-Mississippi West, but rather in the progress of the sciences which will aid the historian in a broader and deeper interpretation of that history. In Part I Malin considers The Sciences and Regionalism. He designates the new sciences that are presenting new factors for the historian: plant, animal, and insect ecology, climatology, geology and geography, soil science, soil physics and microbiology. He marshals the writings of the ecologists, the agronomists, pedologists, and geographers, not to apply their findings to social developments but rather "to challenge the misuses to which the sciences have been put in making social applications," (p. iv). In Part II we have an *Historiography* tracing the earlier and more recent developments in the relation between science and society, and more broadly, between the scientist, the social scientist, and the historian. Mr. Malin ends his volume with a notable bibliography of some sixty pages.

There is no doubt about the fact that historians will find themselves more and more unable to avoid the findings of scientists studying the grasslands, grumble though they may about the overlapping and conflict of disciplines. Indications of what the historians are doing about the matter may readily be found in various books and articles, particularly in the present (1947-1948) *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, where in June Harold E. Briggs presented "An Appraisal of Historical Writings on the Great Plains Region Since 1920," and in September George Haines IV and Frederick H. Jackson were co-authors of "A Neglected Landmark in the History of Ideas," and in December George W. Pierson wrote of "Recent Studies of Turner and the Frontier Doctrine." The lot of the Valley historian is not an happy one, what with all the new tools to master and all the new factors to weigh.

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*The Negro in Mississippi 1865-1890*, by Vernon Lane Wharton, is Volume 28 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, published in 1947 at Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press. In this study Professor Wharton presents aspects of the many problems arising out of the new status of the Negro in Mississippi after the Civil War brought emancipation. In the two introductory chapters he reveals that approximately half of the Negroes experienced freedom long before April, 1865, while those in isolated

areas only gradually came to know that they were legally free. Following the end of hostilities the Negro shared with the Whites a common destitution and suffered in the severe epidemics. Next, the Negroes who became independent farmers were faced by the discouraging crop failures of 1866 and 1867. No wages could be paid to hired hands and hence farm owners of both races resorted to share-cropping, rationing, and various devices of barter for commodities, labor, mule-power, and clothing. Next Professor Wharton has brief accounts of the Freedmen's Bureau, The Black Code, the attempts to replace Negro labor with that of foreigners, and the wholesale migration of the Negroes from unproductive and discriminatory areas. The chapters on the Negro's attempt at leadership in politics and at obtaining control of local governments leading to the "Revolution of 1875" and the end of carpet-bagging and Republicanism, are well told. The unhappy problems of Mississippi after 1875 are treated in the last six chapters under the headings of Race Relations, Crime and Convict Release, Education, Religion, The Negro Defective, and Social Life. A good bibliography and index round out the volume.

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In Rome the Office of Catholic Books, "Officium Libri Catholici," is continuing its publication of a series of documentary monographs on missions. This Bibliotheca Missionalis now has eight volumes listed as published or in the press. Notable among these as pertaining more to the historian than the canonist or theologian is Volume V, *Pontificia Nipponica*. This is a collection of papal briefs regarding the missions in Japan issued by various popes between 1540 and 1748, some decrees of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and various letters, to an ultimate total of ninety-six documents. The other parts to be published will add to this total.

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*The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* can generally command quite a bit of reader interest for the variety of its articles. For example, in the July, 1947, number the leading article, "The Fence-Cutters," by Wayne Gard, is a colorful account of the fight in 1883 between the ranchers who had fenced in their ranges and the landless cowmen whose cattle were dying for lack of grass and water outside the enclosed pastures. A second article, "Bishop Marín de Porras and Texas," by Nettie Lee Benson, recounts the story of this Spanish prelate's visitation of Texas and straightens out his letter-

report which has been variously garbled. The letter is given in translation. Max Berger follows with "Education in Texas during the Spanish and Mexican Periods." Elsewhere is an announcement by The Texas State Historical Association of the W. Scott Schreiner Award in Texas History. The award will be made for the best paper on Texas history published in the Quarterly between July, 1947, and July, 1949, inclusive. . . . In the October number Roberta C. Hendrix began the publication of "Some Gail Borden Letters," and E. W. Winkler publishes the "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1861-1876."

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In *The Pacific Historical Review* for August, 1947, one will find a survey, "Forty Years of Pacific Coast Branch History," by Frank Harmon Garver, explaining the formation and progress of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. There is much factual data, including a list of the officers of the Branch. Elsewhere in this number are "The Shooting of Charles de Young," by Irving McKee, which has much to do with the newspaper rivalries and strife in San Francisco from 1860 to 1880, and "The Port of Los Angeles as a Municipal Enterprise," by John H. Krenkel, which accounts for the establishment and growth of "one of the world's greatest man-made harbors." . . . In the November number Neal Harlow has a short survey on "The Maps of San Francisco Bay and the Town of Yerba Buena to One Hundred Years Ago," which is a synopsis of a forthcoming volume of the said maps now in press.

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*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for June, 1947, carries among its interesting articles on the history of the State one called "Red Stacks in the Sunset," by the Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S.J., who specializes in Great Lakes navigation. This survey is about ships and shipping companies, and passenger boats, linking Chicago with other lake ports.

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The South Dakota Historical Society after considerable struggle over the past six years is keeping its existence known by the publication of a monthly bulletin in planograph named *Wi-iyobi*, whose first number of Volume I was in April. We hope that this is an indication of a revival of the former interest in history in South Dakota.